DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 360 205 SO 022 791

AUTHOR	Foard, Douglas, Ed.; Regoli, Michael, Ed.
TITLE	Columbia Quincentenary. Special Issue.
INSTITUTION	Organization of American Historians, Bloomington, IN.
REPORT NO	ISSN-0882-228X
PUB DATE	91
NOTE	69p.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Serials (022) -- Guides - Classroom Use - Teaching Guides (For Teacher) (052) -- Guides - Non-Classroom Use (055)
JOURNAL CIT	OAH Magazine of History; v5 n4 Spr 1991
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Elementary Secondary Education; Historiography; *History Instruction; Instructional Materials; Teaching Methods; United States History; *World History
IDENTIFIERS	*Columbus (Christopher); *Columbus Quincentenary

ABSTRACT

This special theme issue of the OAH Magazine of History contains articles that present a variety of perspectives on the Columbian Quincentenary--the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's voyages of discovery. The articles include: "Exploring the Columbian Quincentenary through Historiography" (John Hebert); "Science, Religion, and Columbus's Enterprise of the Indies" (Pauline Moffitt Watts); "Columbus's Spain" (Jose Manuel Nieto Soria); "The Columbian Quincentenary: A Necessary Reassessment" (Kirkpatrick Sale); "The Hemispheric Roots of the Columbian Voyages" (Lynda N. Shaffer); "The Early Black Diaspora in the Americas: The First Century after Columbus" (Colin Palmer); "The Seeds of Change" (Herman J. Viola); "The Columbian Voyages in Historical Perspective" (Louis R. Harlan). Three lesson plans, ideas for teachers, an annotated list of ERIC/ChESS educational resources concerning Columbus and the impact of his discoveries on the world, and a National History Day quincentennial supplement also are included. (DB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS

MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

VOL. 5, NO. 4 FOR TEACHERS OF HISTORY SPRING 1991

NATIONAL HISTORY DAY SUPPLEMENT

ED360205

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

MICHAEL RECOLI

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

SO 022 791

Columbian Quincentenary

Nonprofit Organization
U.S. Postage
PAID
Permit No. 116
Bloomington, IN 47408

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

1991-92 Releases in History

HISTORY AND PUBLIC POLICY
by David B. Mock (Ed.)
Orig. Ed. 1991 (Public History) 228 pp. $22.50
ISBN 0-89464-288-X

THE CONSTITUTION: Our Written Legacy
by Joseph A. Melusky
Orig. Ed. 1991 338 pp.
Cl. ISBN 0-89464-334-7 $25.50
Ppb. ISBN 0-89464-550-1 $19.50

THE BOMB
by Keith Eubank
Orig. Ed. 1991 (Anvil) Ppb. $11.95
ISBN 0-89464-237-5

THE HISTORY OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE MILITARY: Double V
by Gary A. Donaldson
Orig. Ed. 1991 192 pp. Not Set
ISBN 0-89464-514-5

PIRATES AND PRIVATEERS OF THE CARIBBEAN
by Jenifer Marx
Orig. Ed. 1991
Cl. ISBN 0-89464-483-1 $32.50
Ppb. ISBN 0-89464-633-8 $21.50

BLACK AMERICAN MUSIC: Past and Present
by Hildred Roach
2nd Ed. 1991 Not Set
ISBN 0-89464-580-3

PUBLIC HISTORY READINGS
by Phyllis K. Leffler & Joseph Brent
Orig. Ed. 1992 (Public History)
Cl. ISBN 0-89464-433-5 $39.50
Ppb. ISBN 0-89464-434-3 $31.50

THE BILL OF RIGHTS: Our Written Legacy
by Joseph A. Melusky & Whitman Ridgway
Orig. Ed. 1992 Not Set
ISBN 0-89464-533-1

CONTEMPORARY NATIONALISM PERSISTENT
by Louis L. Snyder
Orig. Ed. 1992 Ppb. Not Set
ISBN 0-89464-570-6

CORPORATE ARCHIVES AND HISTORY: Making the Past Work
by Arnita A. Jones & Philip L. Cantelon
Orig. Ed. 1992 (Public History) Not Set
ISBN 0-89464-353-3

UNITED STATES AND CANADA TRADE RELATIONS
by Edelgard E. Mahant
Orig. Ed. 1992 (Anvil) Ppb. Not Set
ISBN 0-89464-522-6

When ordering, please add $5.00 for first book, $1.50 each additional (for paperback, $3.00 for first book, $1.00 each additional) to cover shipping charges.

KRIEGER PUBLISHING COMPANY
P.O. Box 9542 · Melbourne, Florida 32902-9542
(407)724-9542 · Direct Order Line (407)727-7270

Volume 5, Number 4 Spring 1991

GUEST EDITOR
Douglas Foard
MANAGING EDITOR
Michael Regoli
ASSISTANT EDITOR
Lucie A. Usher
ADVERTISING MANAGER
Barbara M. Lewis
CIRCULATION MANAGER
Kara L. Hamm
EDITORIAL INTERNS
Laura C. Steele
Brad T. Vogus

ADVISORY BOARD
James F. Adomanis
Anne Arundel County Schools
Annapolis, Maryland
George Burson
Aspen High School
Aspen, Colorado
Mary A. Giunta
National Historical Publications
and Records Commission
Washington, DC
Scott Greenwell
Bountiful Junior High School
Bountiful, Utah
George Henry, Jr.
Highland High School
Salt Lake City, Utah
Marilynn Hitchens
World History Association
Denver, Colorado
William J. McCracken
Pine View School
Sarasota, Florida
Lynnette Oshima
University of New Mexico
Bertram Wyatt Brown
University of Florida
OAH Executive Board Liaison
***Ex Officio* Members**
Terrie Epstein
Chair, OAH Committee on Teaching
Boston College
Anthony J. Beninati
Director, History Teaching Alliance
University of Florida

ORGANIZATION OF
AMERICAN HISTORIANS
Joyce Appleby, President
Mary Frances Berry, Past President
Arnita A. Jones, Acting Executive Secretary

The OAH *Magazine of History* is published quarterly by the Organization of American Historians, 112 North Bryan Street, Bloomington, Indiana 47408-4199, telephone (812) 855-7311. FAX: (812) 855-0696. Those interested in contributing articles, purchasing advertising, obtaining back issues or subscribing, should contact the Managing Editor. The opinions expressed by authors or contributors do not necessarily reflect the opinions or policies of the OAH or the OAH *Magazine of History*.

Materials in the OAH *Magazine of History* may be freely copied for classroom use and must include a notice acknowledging the source.

The OAH *Magazine of History* is available on microform and article copies through University Microfilms Inc., 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. (800) 521-0600

Copyright © 1991 by the Organization of American Historians. **ISSN 0882-228X**

MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

FOR TEACHERS OF HISTORY

The Columbian Quincentenary—A Special Section

Exploring the Columbian Quincentenary Through Historiography 11
John Hébert
Science, Religion, and Columbus's Enterprise of the Indies 14
Pauline Moffitt Watts
Columbus's Spain 18
José Manuel Nieto Soria
The Columbian Quincentenary: A Necessary Reassessment 20
Kirkpatrick Sale
The Hemispheric Roots of the Columbian Voyages 24
Lynda N. Shaffer
The Early Black Diaspora in the Americas: The First Century After Columbus 27
Colin Palmer
The Seeds of Change 31
Herman J. Viola
The Columbian Voyages in Historical Perspective 35
Louis R. Harlan

Departments and Columns

FROM THE EDITOR 3

DIALOGUE
History's Great Surprise: The American Indian 5
David Warren

ON TEACHING
Teaching the Columbian Quincentenary 7
Marjorie W. Bingham

LESSON PLANS
A Year Long Voyage of Investigation 36
Mary Ann Barnard
An Examination of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition 41
James A. Percoco
Before Oglethorpe: Hispanic and Indian Cultures in the Southeast United States 43
Carmen Chaves Tesser and Charles Hudson

NATIONAL HISTORY DAY SUPPLEMENT
National History Day Commemorates the Columbian Quincentenary 49
Lois Scharf and Cathy Gorn

EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
Christopher Columbus: Bridge Between the Old and New World 47
Vickie J. Schlene

HISTORY HEADLINES 62

On the cover: From Paolo Giovio, *Elogia vivorum bellica virtute illustrium*, Basel, 1575, courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

A Call for Contributions

The OAH *Magazine of History* invites you to contribute to our upcoming issues. Our regular columns include:

Letters to the Editor
Dialogue—A forum for issues on the teaching of history.
Classroom Media—A column that explores the use of a wide range of media.
National History Day—A Discussion of National History Day projects.
Studentspeak—A column to present student opinions and views concerning history.
On Teaching—A discussion and analysis on various teaching strategies and activities.
Lesson Plans—Lessons for the subject period or topic of each issue.

Topics of Upcoming Issues

History Education Reform
Drug Use in History
Teaching the History of Religion
Teaching Minority History
National History Day 1993: Communication
History of Sport, Recreation and Leisure
Foreign Policy
Geography

Selection of articles will be made on the basis of interest and usefulness for our audience and the appropriateness of style. We welcome articles that are broadly related to the topic, especially articles with a multicultural approach. **Authors are encouraged to query the Managing Editor about specific deadlines and topics before submitting materials.**

Guidelines

Submissions should not exceed ten double-spaced typewritten pages. Longer articles may be condensed by the Guest Editor if accepted. Regular columns (Dialogue, On Teaching, Classroom Media) should approximate fifteen-hundred to two-thousand words in length. Lesson Plans are one to two thousand words in length.

Articles should be written in a style that is readable and accessible for a broad audience of high school, junior high school, and college teachers interested in all aspects of history education, including recent scholarship, curriculum, and developments in educational methodology.

The *Magazine* uses *The Chicago Manual of Style* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982). Authors should use the Author-Date System for documentation and keep footnotes to an absolute minimum. For bibliography and reference lists, we prefer that you use "Style A" for literature, history and the arts, as outlined in section 16.5 of the *Chicago Manual*, 13th ed.

If your article has been prepared on an IBM or compatible word processing system, we would appreciate your sending us a copy of the article on 5¼" or 3½" double-sided, double-density diskette along with the printed manuscript.

Please include information about current and former teaching positions.

We would appreciate your including or suggesting appropriate illustrations for your article.

We encourage you to add your own lesson plans, ideas for discussion, etc., to an article that would be appropriate for use in the classroom.

We invite you to send your submissions, questions, or comments to:

Michael Regoli, Managing Editor
OAH *Magazine of History*
Organization of American Historians
112 North Bryan Street
Bloomington, Indiana U.S.A. 47408-4199
(812) 855-7311 (8a-5p EST)
(812) 855-0696 FAX
oah@iubacs.BITNET

The Dawn of Universal History

The Quincentenary will afford us access to major issues while demonstrating the vital nature of historical inquiry.

Douglas W. Foard

One Spanish writer, Ramiro de Maeztu, described the events of that dawn in October 1492, as "the first moment in universal history." He believed that the real significance of Columbus's voyage was that it heralded the attainment of an ancient ideal—the creation of a common human experience, the "ecumene" of which the Greeks had only dreamed.

We denizens of this century's "global village," especially those of us charged with introducing the next generation to its cultural patrimony, should be gratified at the timing of the forthcoming quincentenary observances. Beneath the anniversary's superficial manifestations (the regattas, the parades, the commemorative T-shirts) there will be an unparalleled opportunity to engage in our own explorations of the origins and nature of the ecumene and its increasing impact upon the way we live. The Columbian Quincentenary will afford us easy access to some of the major issues of our own time (such as global interdependence and cultural pluralism) while simultaneously demonstrating the vital nature of historical inquiry.

We have assembled this edition of the *Magazine of History* on the basis of those assumptions and, in keeping with the nature of the quincentenary, we have endeavored to be as universal as possible in our approach to the subject. The reader will find, therefore, that articles appear from a multitude of perspectives and from a variety of specializations within the discipline. Each in its own way is meant to be suggestive of the surprising new dimensions contemporary historical scholarship is bringing to this familiar subject and in-dicative as well of the fascinating avenues of inquiry still awaiting exploration.

In completing the endeavor, we have received invaluable assistance from Dr. John Hébert and his staff at the Library of Congress, Dr. Herman Viola, Craig Reynolds and his colleagues at the National Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C., the staff at the Smithsonian Institution Press, and Dr. Joel Silver and his staff at Indiana University's Lilly Library. Several articles selected for this edition derive from a teacher institute hosted for National History Day last summer by the Library of Congress with the support of the National Endowment for the Humanities. We hope that this publication will prove a worthy vehicle for disseminating the ideas spawned at that gathering and perhaps even encouraging a championship entry in the 1991-92 National History Day competition.❑

Douglas W. Foard is secretary of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in Washington, D.C. and author of The Revolt of the Aesthetes.

Launch the New Year with SEARCH and Discover Columbus.

SEARCH, the classroom magazine for American history, will devote its first fall issue to The Columbus Quincentenary.

In 32 exciting pages, your 8-12th grade students are invited to explore such topics as:

- Current controversies surrounding the 500th anniversary of Columbus's voyage.
- A Day in the Life of a sailor on the Santa Maria.
- The first encounter: How Christopher Columbus described it and how the Indians may have viewed it.
- A 16th Century debate: How the explorers are treating the indigenous peoples.
- "Who really was Christopher Columbus?," contemporary theories and traditional myths.
- A national Columbus Contest, with major prizes.

Now is the time to place your FREE-TRIAL order for class sets of SEARCH. Just fill out and mail the coupon below.

Easier yet, call our toll-free number and we'll immediately get your magazines in the mail.

If, after you enjoy them, you decide you want your students to continue to use SEARCH to learn about American history, stay on board for seven exciting issues to follow.

Otherwise, when you receive your SEARCH invoice, mark it "cancel." And content yourself with having provided your students with the timeliest, most appropriate, most exciting learning vehicle with which to observe the Quincentenary.

Photocopy the coupon below with an estimate of your class size, and send it to: Scholastic Inc., 2931 East McCarty Street, Jefferson City, MO 65101

1991-92 FREE-TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION ORDER

Scholastic's FREE-TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION OFFER and GUARANTEE

Use SEARCH with your students for 30 days. During this trial period, you may revise your order or even cancel it by marking the invoice. Your satisfaction is positively guaranteed or you don't pay. No matter what you decide, you are welcome to keep your trial issues of SEARCH absolutely FREE.

*Price reflects Educators' Discount on orders of 10 or more copies and includes a teacher's copy with Teaching Guide with every issue. Orders for 1-9 copies cost $10.50 each, payable with order.

Scholastic SEARCH Exploring the American Adventure

Just $5.95 per student*
for 8 exciting monthly issues

Estimate the number of copies you will need:

For faster service, ORDER TOLL-FREE
1- 800-631-1586
(7:30 AM to 7:30 PM, C.T.)

NAME

SIGNATURE

SCHOOL

SCHOOL ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

3501

History's Great Surprise: The American Indian

Europeans were ultimately attempting to convince the Indians by one means or another to cease being Indians.

David Warren

David Warren is deputy director of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.

It is somewhat superficial to address the encounter of 1492 by asking whether it was good or bad. No matter which of those labels might be preferred, the undeniable fact is that contact occurred and launched a train of events which continues right into our own day. Furthermore, by focusing on the horrendous transformation of the New World, we tend to overlook the equally profound revolution touched off in the Old World by news of the existence of those of us whom Columbus described as "Indians."

Our presence effectively wrecked an intellectual framework that had developed in the West over a period of millennia, dating back at least as far as Aristotle's division of mankind into civilized men and "natural slaves." The encounter with the New World's peoples threw that whole reference system into a cocked hat. Here was a place and a people that could not be fitted into the existing theological explanations of creation nor accepted definitions of social and political institutions. We weren't Jews, nor were we Moors, and manifestly we were not Christians. The Indians fit nowhere into the previously-existing European intellectual universe, which promptly crumbled.

The historian Lewis Hanke has given us a wonderful sketch of the revolutionary impact of this realization in such benchmark works as his *All Mankind is One* (Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), a study of the debates that raged in Spain during the mid-sixteenth century on "the intellectual and religious capacity of the American Indians." The Spanish monarchy was sufficiently disturbed about this issue that it called a five-year halt to the expansion of its domain in the Americas. Ultimately a new concept of international law would emerge from the deliberations. The Spanish Crown was looking for a way to accommodate native Americans within the institutional and bureaucratic structure of its empire. It was seeking a mechanism to bring them in as nothing more and, in many ways nothing less, than the citizenry of the rest of the Spanish realm.

The subsequent English approach was somewhat different. They attempted to deal with Indian societies as sovereign entities, a theoretical notion which abides with us in the United States to this day. Neither approach, of course, resolved the fundamental anomaly; i.e., that the Indian was simply alien to European categories of thought. The colonial powers did the best they could to mold the native Americans into those categories. They sent missionaries among them to change their religions and invented innumerable designs for integrating the indigenous populations into European-style social and political systems. The results have not been satisfactory because the Europeans were ultimately attempting to convince the Indians by one means or another to cease being Indians. The anomaly of 1492 persists today.

Indians are a people who come from the land. It is more than a territorial concept; the land gives us our identity. In the United States, the concept endures in the microcosm of the reservation, which is

recognized within the structure and policy of the federal system as belonging to the Indians. They are places where the Indian has a sense of his or her own identity, where the tribal government continues to operate for better or worse. They are home to the extended family, the lineage which links the individual to the land, and (particularly in the southwestern United States) the reservations are seen as sacred spaces where our traditional shrine areas are located. By maintaining this identification with place, the Indian experiences a relationship with an almost uninterrupted heritage that predates the arrival of the Christians and the establishment in this hemisphere of a social order that was not ours.

In the past century, while some were concerned that we Indians were a vanishing race, others, who considered themselves reformers, eagerly sought to bring native Americans into the "mainstream." In the 1890s, we had the appearance of all the great off-reservation boarding schools. Their function was to train Indian children to create nuclear families, become farmers, and work the land in individual plots. In short, they were to be detribalized.

In spite of these "reforms," the reservation persisted and we continue to recognize the Indian within this self-governing entity. In Latin America, meanwhile, we are witnessing a real effort on the part of the Indians to reidentify themselves, not merely as vassals of the Crown or members of the national society, but as distinct cultural entities. Consciousness of language, ceremonial customs, and potential political power fuel this awakening.

In effect, there has been an effort throughout the hemisphere these past five hundred years to remake the heart and soul of the native Americans so that they might conform to the institutions brought here by the Europeans. As late as the 1950s in this country, Indians were again subjected to a policy of federal abandonment, the eventual termination of all responsibility on the part of the central government for the maintenance of the reservation system. A "sink or swim" (conform or perish) movement was allegedly at hand. That endeavor failed, predictably and miserably. In recent years, there have been some encouraging developments. The passage in 1975, for example, of the act recognizing the authority of tribal governments was encouraging, as was the 1978 statute which extended constitutional guarantees to the practice of native American religions.

Are we and have we been a precivilized people, whose transition is to be studied, or peoples of a rich heritage whose cultures may hold insights into the survival of mankind?

Some of these same issues are now affecting the museum world, especially in connection with "repatriation"—the return of Indian remains to tribal custody rather than museum curatorship. This question reflects the persistence of nineteenth century concerns that native Americans were a vanishing people and is also reminiscent of the sixteenth-century debate in Spain. Are we and have we been, after all, a precivilized people, whose transition is to be studied, or peoples of a rich heritage whose cultures may hold insights into the survival of mankind?

We are hoping that the National Museum of the American Indian will be much more than a repository. In fact, the planning process has already demonstrated that, in designing the facility and its mission, the Smithsonian is simply catching up with developments which have been underway in the Indian community since the 1950s. As a result of the manifest failure of that decade's federal policy of assimilation, Indians themselves have been striving to reconstruct their communities, not just economically but culturally. Consequently, there is less outward migration from the reservations and many who had previously moved to the cities are now returning to their homelands.

Our young people are staying, too. Census figures tell us that today forty-five percent of the nation's Indian population is under twenty years of age. Among the Navaho, the median age is only seventeen. The same reports tell us that a mere five percent of our population is age sixty-five or older. So we have a very small group of tradition bearers who are being sought out by a very large and youthful generation, eager to acquire the kind of knowledge that once was available in every extended family. Self-determination, therefore, is not only an economic or political endeavor; it is cultural as well.

We want to make our new Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C. a part of this repatriation process. It will, of course, be a place to show continuity from the "traditional past" into a still not clearly defined future. But it will also be a place that will accommodate performing artists and serious scholars. The best of material culture (both contemporary and traditional) will be displayed there, but we are also seeking to make the museum a part of an informational exchange network that will employ the latest technology to link young and old learners to our collection, our research efforts, and our public programs.

One of our goals is to download the resources of the museum into a communications system that will permit any child in this country to have access to our holdings. We want them to investigate for themselves the treaties, the photographs, and the recordings of Indian music that were made in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We envision the museum to be a place of exploring and interpreting this most fascinating of all anomalies—the American Indian. ❑

Teaching the Columbian Quincentenary

There are, I believe, at least six major ways to celebrate this anniversary with some sensitivity within the school curriculum.

Marjorie W. Bingham

My hunch is that many American history teachers inwardly groan at the thought of yet one more anniversary—1492—to commemorate. Barely recovered from the bicentennial of the Constitution and its ratification, still engaged in a similar recognition of the Bill of Rights, teachers may long for breathing space with no anniversary guilts. Furthermore, the Columbian Quincentenary seems particularly conflict-laden although, as Thurgood Marshall pointed out, the ratification of the original Constitution was not necessarily a celebratory occasion for African Americans, native Americans, or women. But, at least, later civil rights and suffrage movements could be examined and heroes of both sexes, several races, and many ethnic groups could join those "demigods" (as Jefferson called them) of the Constitutional Era.

Commemorating 1492 is still more complex and teachers need to think through for themselves how complicated instruction may be, especially for native Americans and African American students, whose ancestors were often adversely affected by the voyages and their aftermath. There are, I believe, at least six major ways to celebrate this anniversary with some sensitivity within the school curriculum.

1. Focusing on Columbus may seem the most simple approach, yet there are plenty of controversies. We do not, for example, have a clear sense of Columbus's early background. In Samuel Eliot Morison's classic biography, Columbus appears as a capable "Admiral of the Ocean Sea," whereas in Gianni Granzotto's more recent work, *Christopher Columbus: The Dream and the Obsession*, he is portrayed as a magnificent bungler, a Don Quixote, pursuing a confused image of the world. Advanced students might do a comparative treatment of Columbus from these works, or teachers might use Morison and Granzotto for a contrasting thematic framework. Student debates or papers could respond to this contrast.

There are conflicting choices of islands where he may first have landed in 1492. For those interested in the landfall controversy, *National Geographic* (November, 1986), devoted a special issue to the subject with Joseph Judge as editor. While the *Geographic* settles on Samana Cay as the scene of Columbus's first landing in the Americas, the controversy continues. Particularly for students who like computer puzzles of wind speeds, ocean currents, and topographical island maps, this debate may be of interest. For a series of articles at the secondary reading level, teachers may use *American History Illustrated* (January/February, 1991), which pursues the question, "Where Did Columbus Land?" Also, those who enjoy using original documents may want to find an older "Jackdaw" packet, "Columbus and the Discovery of America," published in 1964 that contains maps, letters, and woodcuts concerning the voyages.

John Parker of the James Ford Bell Library narrowed down the "essentials" upon which a teacher might focus. His suggestions were three: a) Martin Behaim's

Marjorie W. Bingham teaches at St. Louis Park Senior High School in St. Louis Park, Minnesota, and is an NEH Teacher/Scholar. She is chair of the History Teaching Alliance Oversight Committee and a charter member of the OAH Magazine of History *Advisory Board.*

The North American, Library of Congress

Of the hoofed mammals brought to the New World by Iberian colonists in 1519, only the horse had no surviving North American relatives. The native peoples were among the first groups to readapt to these new animals that once roamed freely before their extinction some ten thousand years before.

Globe (to illustrate Columbus's worldview); b) Columbus's 1493 letter about his voyages; and c) selections from *The Log of Christopher Columbus*, newly translated by Robert H. Fuson. The *Log* is an excellent source for students because so many of the issues of how Columbus treated native Americans and his calculations about wealth and honor are readily apparent for students analysis. Perhaps one way to handle this source is to divide the class and have students read different sections of the *Log*, looking at the same time for what might be "celebrated" and what not.

2. Another way of teaching 1492 is to see Columbus as part of a Western European effort to understand the world after the Crusades, the fall of Byzantium, and advent of the Renaissance. One of the newest aids to teachers taking this approach is the PBS television series, "The Shape of the World." Students and teachers can obtain free packets of materials on the series from IBM. Each school also can receive a free, ninety-minute videocassette of series excerpts. In addition, there are various new geographic aids from Rand McNally and the National Geographic Society, such as the McNally's Antique Map series. These may be especially helpful for teachers developing lessons on how world views changed as old maps were reconsulted and new maps from an "age of exploration" were developed.

3. While the two approaches mentioned above have been "traditional" ways of teaching about Columbus, their emphasis on explorers as heroes has been severely questioned. Much of the controversy over the quincentenary is whether it should be celebrated at all. As the historian Alfred W. Crosby said, 1492 made a "charnel house" of the Americas. For teachers and advanced students, the clearest and briefest statement of this position is probably Crosby's pamphlet, "The Columbian Voyages, the Columbian Exchange, and Their Historians," published and distributed by

the American Historical Association. Here the destructive quality of the European intrusion is recounted, both in terms of the diseases the Europeans introduced and the labor, crops, and metals which they extracted from the hemisphere.

A new (1991) set of "Jackdaw" materials emphasizes cultural "encounters" rather than the notion of "discovery" as descriptive of the events of 1492. Indeed, the new scholarship on the period makes the point of ethnocentric language (such as Columbus's "discovery" of people who knew quite well where they were) is suspect. Terms such as the "New World" need qualification in recognition of the fact that contact meant two new worlds on both sides of the Atlantic, or perhaps many new worlds as various cultures were shaped and reshaped by the experience. A new source book edited by Mervin Lunenfeld, *1491, Discovery, Invasion, Encounter* (D. C. Heath, 1991), does a good job of presenting the historiographical issues and includes original documents as well as discussion questions for each section.

4. But if the concept of the "Columbian Exchange" implies an interaction of Atlantic communities, the story may become even more complex from the perspective of world history. The closing of the silk roads with the fall of Byzantium, the rise of the Seljeck Turks, the Chinese explorations, the known Viking travels, the recognition of the African continent's empires and labor resources—all form a complex picture of global interaction. Teachers might wish to take the year of 1492, divide their class to represent different parts of the world at that time, and see how the respective areas contributed to and were influenced by the momentous events of that single twelve-month period. Janet Abu-Lughod's *Before European Hegemony: The World System, AD 1250-1350*, suggests interactions leading to the Columbus voyages.

5. Remembering my days in the 1960s teaching "the Age of Exploration" to the eighth grade, I think that the girls and I got pretty tired of one male explorer and mapmaker after another. Of course, there was Queen Isabel, but she was a vague presence rather like a fairy godmother setting Columbus off to the ball. Now, in the '90s, there is much more material on women's history to use for the quincentenary. The current controversy of Isabel's proposed elevation to sainthood makes a good exercise for students about varying perceptions. But, as Granzotto's biography makes apparent, Columbus was sustained by a network of women: his first wife, Felipa Moniz, gave him contacts with the nobility; his mother-in-law turned over her husband's navigational charts to him; his mistress, Marquise de Moya, arranged his contacts with the Queen; his common-law wife, Beatrice, supported him financially; and the governor of one of the Canary Islands, Beatrice de Bobdilla, helped to outfit his ships.

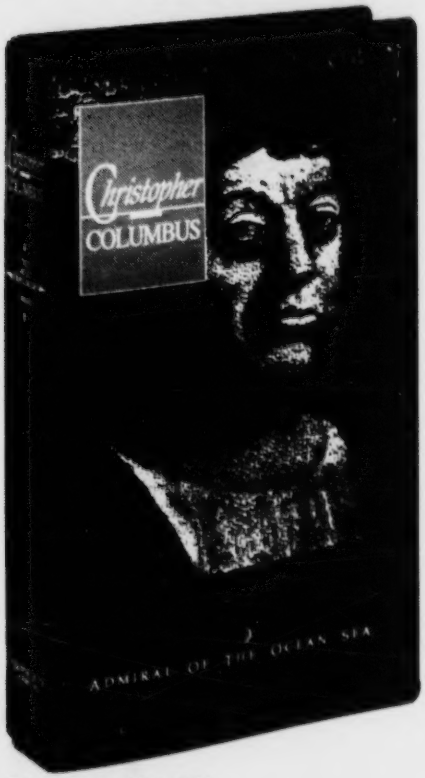
In spite of all its difficulties, it seems to me that this anniversary, the Columbian Quincentenary, calls for teachers to pay extra attention to the emphasis and value they place on an event.

But another way to approach the subject through women's history is to look at the impact of European culture on native American women's lives. The work of scholars such as June Nash, Irene Silverblatt, and Ferdenand Anton, suggest the variety of women's roles in pre-Columbian America and the subsequent narrowing of choices down to the imposition of European attitudes toward women. Ways of teaching women's history might include looking at specific cultures, like the Inca, or reading Columbus's *Log* with his claims that he was protecting women's "honor" even as he kidnapped them for use as interpreters. Materials for teachers would include Marysa Navarro's section on Latin America in *Restoring Women to History: Teaching Packets for Integrating Women's History into Courses on Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East* (Organization of American Historians, 1988; second edition, 1990), June Nash Safa's *Sex and Class in Latin America*, and volume one of *Women in Latin America* by Susan Gross and myself.

6. One more way of teaching the quincentenary is to focus on pre-Columbian culture, whether it be Inca, Carib, Aztec, or Navaho. Aim at student understanding of these people as they were before the West intruded upon their lives. By taking this approach, students may gain a greater sense of the changes that occurred after 1492, both good and bad. Once again, teachers might consider dividing the class into smaller groups, each one focusing on a different Amerindian culture. This structure may underscore the point that the responses to the Europeans of the indigenous peoples of this hemisphere varied because the "New World" was a complex place.

This list of six ways to teach the quincentenary by no means exhausts the methods or sources available. The American Historical Association, for example, will be publishing a series of pamphlets on the quincentenary which should be of particular value to teachers. In spite of all its difficulties, it seems to me that this anniversary calls for teachers to pay extra attention to the emphasis and value they place on the event. Frederick Jackson Turner celebrated the Columbian Quatracentenary a century ago with his famous essay on how the frontier keeps recreating "new worlds," overcoming the "savages" who originally were there. Perhaps in our 1992 observances we can recognize the losses humanity endured as well as its adventures. ❑

Omnigraphics presents a New Educational Video Series



30-minute video, $75.

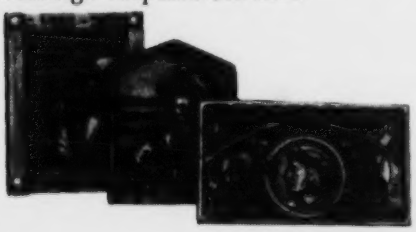
Expanded Columbus Programming

15-minute ($59) or 30-minute ($95) video.
Columbus: Man and Myth
Columbus: The First Voyage
Columbus: Search for La Navidad
Columbus: The New World
Columbus: God and Gold
Columbus: Later Voyages

Columbus: The Landfall Debate
45-minute video, $95.
La Genovesita di Colombo
50-minute video, in Italian, $175.

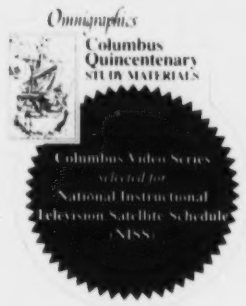
Posters (set of 30, 27" x 39")
Columbus Poster Exhibit created by the Italian Ministry of Culture. *$425 set.*

Plaques
Featuring Columbus, Magellan, or Amerigo Vespucci. *$25 each.*



The Great Explorers Video Series

The drama, the daring, the imagination, the determination and sometimes the desperation of the courageous explorers of the ages past are presented in **The Great Explorers Videos Series**. Utilizing extensive on-site, live coverage, interviews with experts from Europe, the Caribbean and the United States, along with extensive footage from the world's archives, libraries, and museums, the series discusses the challenges, the controversies and the cultural confrontations, starting with the most famous of them all, Christopher Columbus.



"Christopher Columbus: Admiral of the Ocean Sea"

The *Admiral of the Ocean Sea* videotape is ideal for classrooms, presenting in one thirty-minute program a balanced, colorful, and complete story, certain to be of interest as the nation marks the 500th anniversary of that famous first voyage.

Additional Columbus Materials

Consisting of expanded programming, reference books, posters, and plaques.

To Order

Just use our toll-free phone number, **800-234-1340** to talk directly with our Customer Service Department, or simply fax us your order on our toll-free fax line, **800-875-1340**. Remember—all Omni books and videos come with our standard 60-day on-approval policy.

Reference Books

Celebrating Christopher Columbus
A collection of reprinted essays that provides an overview of Columbus's life and achievements. *$48.*

Columbus: An Annotated Guide to the Scholarship on His Life and Writings
Created as a new guide for history students, scholars, teachers, and thesis directors. *$48.*

Columbus Dictionary
Ready reference on hundreds of persons, places and events associated with Columbus and his voyages of discovery. *$48.*

Columbus Documents: Summaries of Documents in Genoa
A guide to the letters, documents, and books dealing with the Genoese origins of Columbus. *$60.*

Omnigraphics

Free Columbus Poster with your Video Order

Penobscot Building
Detroit, MI 48226
Phone: 800-234-1340
Fax: 800-875-1340

Exploring the Columbian Quincentenary Through Historiography

John Hébert

The sheer volume of interest that has been and is being generated with respect to the five hundredth anniversary of Columbus's 1492 voyage to America makes it necessary for the teacher to prepare for the inevitable onslaught of questions and demands that will occur. It seems that only every hundred years does the historical profession take stock of what is happening in the study of Columbus and the development of lasting contact between America and Europe in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This brief essay will discuss some of the publications that I have found most useful in understanding this very interesting and very important part of American history.

The approach to the subject must be broad in order to provide the rich and diverse context in which the voyage of Columbus occurred. For the study of the last voyages of exploration to America in the fifteenth century, starting with Columbus, it is necessary to look at the various publications about Christopher Columbus, to look at the society out of which he emerged—the Mediterranean, to look at the spirit of exploration in the period, to look at America and its societies on the eve of European arrival, and finally, to review materials about the impact of contact in America. The study of Columbus's voyage of 1492 is a story about America and the people and the cultures found in it.

The approach to the subject must be broad in order to provide the rich and diverse context in which the voyage of Columbus occurred.

To most educators the volume of materials about Christopher Columbus is overwhelming. For some five hundred years people have been writing about the man, as a real person or as a myth. I am not sure that one will have much success in separating fact from fiction but there are a number of publications that will give some assistance. The classic work on Columbus has been Samuel Eliot Morison's *Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1942) which provides a useful chronology of the life and times of the Admiral in a most favorable light. Availing himself of the pertinent documents in existence on Columbus, Morison wove a readable account. More recent scholarship, for example Kirkpatrick Sale's *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), approaches the subject from a different perspective when he casts doubt on the Admiral's intentions and suggests that the arrival of Europeans to late fifteenth-century America caused lasting ecological damage to the world's environment. In recent years, Columbus has been subjected to harsher treatment by writers. There is no simple answer to these interpretations. Teachers need to be aware of the variant interpretations of Columbus and keep handy a number of companion documents that provide closer contact with Columbus and his times. A litany of such publications includes Oliver Dunn and James Kelley's *The Diario of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America, 1492-1493.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989) which provides an English translation of the Las Casas rendering of the long lost diary of the voyage; Consuelo Varela's *Cristóbal Colón; textos y documentos completos/relaciones de viajes, cartas y memoriales* (Madrid: Alianza, 1982) which provides full transcriptions of Columbus's writings; Fernando Colón's *The Life of Admiral Christopher Columbus by His Son Ferdinand* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1959), translated by Benjamin Keen, which is an account by the son of Columbus prepared in the mid-sixteenth century; Foster Provost's *Columbus: An Annotated Guide to the Study on His Life and Writings, 1750-1988* (Detroit: Omnigraphics, 1991) which gives clear descriptions of more than eight hundred publications on every facet of Columbus's life and exploits. On a lighter note, Provost authored *Columbus: Dream and Act: A Tragic Suite* (Providence: John Carter Brown Library, 1986).

Those who enter the subject of Columbus soon realize that he was not acting alone and that his actions would have been

Lilly Library, *Voyages to America, 1617-34*

The process of encounter and exchange that Columbus initiated has had a lasting impact on both the Old World and the New. European newcomers experienced a great diversity of cultures, multiplicity of languages, and later, a great deal of conflict, upon their arrival to the Americas.

impossible without the support of a huge cast of players. A brief review of the Mediterranean world at the time of Columbus is necessary to give context to what has been treated as a singular actor story. What was that world out of which Columbus emerged? To obtain some inkling, the student should look at Fernand Braudel's monumental *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II* (2 volumes, New York: Harper and Row, 1972). The first volume is most important in that a picture of the Mediterranean as a diverse cultural entity becomes evident. Add to this selective readings in Ida Altman's *Emigrants and Society: Extremadura and America in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); William A. Christian's *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); John Huxtable Elliott's *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970); Ruth Pike's *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972); A.C. de C.M. Saunders's *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedom in Portugal, 1441-1555* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982); and Franco Cardini's *Europe 1492: Portrait of a Continent Five Hundred Years Ago* (New York: Facts on File, 1989). The Cardini book is a general treatment of European life at the end of the fifteenth century.

In the period of exploration that predates Columbus's 1492 voyage, but which was heightened by that exploit, a number of publications are extremely important in providing information about maps, charts, navigation, and exploration. In years past this literature would have been described as material from the Age of Discovery, and for Europe it was precisely that as it reached out to unfamiliar parts of the world. The term discovery has taken quite a beating in recent years especially when it has been used incorrectly. Some literature that will assist us in aspects of exploration and contact, from mainly the European perspective, but not primarily, include the two volume *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, edited by Fredi Chiappelli (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Louis de Vorsey's *Keys to the Encounter* (Washington, Library of Congress, 1991); and William P. Cumming's *et al., The Discovery of North America* (New York: American Heritage Press, 1972). The *First Images* work contains fifty-six separate essays on Renaissance and discovery, myth and literature in America, politics and conflict, governing the New World, images in the arts, books on the New World, language, geography, movement of people, and science and trade. It combines both old and new scholarship that provides a broad array of topics for the classroom setting. Professor de Vorsey's

recent publication *Keys to the Encounter* addresses both the contact of America and Europe and the collections of the Library of Congress that contribute to understanding the subject of encounter; Cumming's extremely fine publication *The Discovery of North America* incorporates translations of contemporary documents related to European contact with America in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.

No study of the Columbian voyages can proceed without consideration of the peoples and the cultures of America before and during European contact. A healthy recognition of the extent of the Americas' development, the diversity of the cultures, the multiplicity of languages, and interests of the people who confronted the European newcomers after 1492, provides a complete approach to understanding of the significance of the Columbian voyage. Numerous works exist for the study of pre-1492 America including Friedrich Katz's *The Ancient American Civilizations* (New York: Praeger, 1972); Miguel León-Portilla's *Aztec Thought and Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963); *Columbian Consequences: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands West*, edited by David Hurst Thomas, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989); and Manuel Lucena Salmoral's *America 1492: Portrait of a Continent 500 Years Ago* (New York: Facts on File, 1990). Collectively, these provide a broad view of the diverse societies that populated the Americas before 1492. Obviously, study of these societies should include references to Indian peoples in the present-day United States, hence the David Hurst Thomas work reviews societies in the U.S. Southwest. Other studies, including James Axtell's important *The Invasion Within: The Conquest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); John R. Swanton's classic *The Indians of the South-eastern United States* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1946); and Carl O. Sauer's *Sixteenth Century North America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), provide particularly important contributions. Swanton's work is encyclopedic in presentation and, therefore, becomes a working tool for the harried teacher.

Finally, the review of the period of initial contact must look at the consequences of the meeting of Europe and America in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Herein lie the greatest pitfalls for the teacher, since it is in this topic that the most divergent views appear. I am not sure how to steer the teacher through the maze of topics; sometimes one must simply jump into the morass. As is known, the arrival of the European newcomers to America was not without major and lasting impact on the peoples of the Americas. New administration, military implements, diseases, and organizations complicated and devastated existing societies throughout the hemisphere. New relationships emerged and continue to emerge. Studies such as Alfred W. Crosby's *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1972); Urs Bitterli's *Cultures in Conflict* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989); William Fitzhugh's edited *Cultures in Contact: The Impact of European Contacts on Native American Cultural Institutions* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985); James Lockhart's edited *Letters and People in the Spanish Indies, Sixteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976) and his forthcoming work, *The Nahuas After the Conquest* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992) provide a good bookshelf of publications to review the various facets of the initial contact period throughout the Americas.

I have given a number of publications that can be of use in the study of the period of Columbus's voyage to America and the European contact and conquest of the Western Hemisphere. The study of this time period is very important since out of it came the shape of the entities that we refer to today as the Americas. A caution to all who enter this important study. Try to remember to consider the study of the period from the understanding of that time in history and not as we would wish it to be today. Too often history is understood from today's perspective and is rewritten in that fashion. Now, the meaning of that history, in light of the present, is a necessary path to follow. The significance of those past events, e.g., Columbus's voyage, the encounter with American societies, the impact on European scientific and social thought, the development of societies in America, and the relationship of peoples in the Americas, is important and instructive. ❑

The review of the period of initial contact must look at the consequences of the meeting of Europe and America in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Herein lie the greatest pitfalls for the teacher, since it is in this topic that the most divergent views appear.

*John R. Hébert is the coordinator of the Quincentenary Program, **An Ongoing Voyage**, at the Library of Congress.*

Science, Religion, and Columbus's Enterprise of the Indies

Pauline Moffitt Watts

In the decade of the 1490s, Christopher Columbus developed his "Enterprise of the Indies"—his theory that the Far East could be reached by sailing westward across the Atlantic Ocean. This enterprise would inaugurate important new phases of hemispheric and global history, marked by a proliferation of contacts between European, American, African, and Asian peoples. Precisely because of its extraordinary historical significance, the genesis of Columbus's "Enterprise of the Indies" has been the subject of ongoing study and debate.

Since the nineteenth century, well-known, popular, and scholarly accounts of Columbus's project have usually suggested that it was scientifically innovative. Columbus, the "Admiral of the Ocean Sea," is depicted as champion of the supposedly unorthodox notion that the earth is round and that it is circumnavigable. Only after a perseverant struggle with ignorant, superstitious but influential ecclesiastics at the court of Ferdinand and Isabel, such accounts suggest, did Columbus win acceptance of his theories and royal financing for his initial voyage of discovery.

It is true that Columbus had difficulty securing backing for his enterprise; he spent seven years pleading his cause at the court of regents. But his lack of success can be traced to a number of causes not directly related to the novelty of his geography and cosmography. First, the attention of Ferdinand and Isabel was focused primarily on the political consolidation of their kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, and their ongoing military campaigns for control of the Iberian peninsula. Columbus's project was likely quite marginal to the central designs and goals of their joint monarchy. Second, when Columbus did attract royal interest in his project, it was in the wake of the Portuguese voyages down the western coast of Africa, which indicated that they might soon discover a maritime route to Asia gaining considerable economic advantages. Finally, Columbus attached to his "Enterprise of the Indies" a persistent demand for what seemed to be an excess of titles and privileges should he discover new lands. That this tactic almost cost him the opportunity to sail is indicated in important contemporary sources such as his son Ferdinand's biography of his father and Bartolomé de las Casas's *History of the Indies*.

Columbus was seeking to demonstrate the special role he believed he was destined to play as the 'Christ-bearer' in the unfolding historical events.

In describing the enterprise itself, both Ferdinand Columbus and Las Casas point out that it was in large part derived from a variety of well-known ancient and medieval sources, including the works of Aristotle, Pliny the Elder, Solinus, and Marco Polo. In addition to these sources, Columbus apparently also made particular use of two other works as well. The first of these was a treatise entitled *Imago mundi*, written in the early fifteenth century by an influential philosopher and theologian named Pierre d'Ailly (1350-1420). The other consisted of a pair of letters written by the famous Renaissance cosmographer and physician, Paolo Toscanelli (1397-1482).

D'Ailly's *Imago mundi* was based upon a collection of seminal ancient and medieval texts on cosmography and geography. It was completed around 1410 and apparently enjoyed a fairly wide circulation in both manuscript and printed forms throughout Western Europe during the fifteenth century. Columbus possessed and annotated an early printed edition (called an *incunabulum*) of *Imago mundi*, published sometime between 1480 and 1483 by John of Westphalia. This volume survives and is located in the Biblioteca Columbina in Seville, Spain.

Long ago, scholars noticed that chapter eight of *Imago mundi*, entitled "De quantitate terrae habitabilis" ("On the extent of the inhabitable earth"), contained many annotations in Columbus's own hand. Because of these notes, it is widely presumed that this chapter was of particular importance to Columbus in the formulation of his Enterprise of the Indies. In this chapter, d'Ailly, following a number of

earlier authorities, asserts that the greater part of the globe consists of land, not water as some had supposed. Accordingly, the Atlantic is likely to be relatively short in breadth and so should be navigable.

Columbus appears to have found corroboration for d'Ailly's theories in the two letters written by Toscanelli. While it is evident that the letters were composed by Toscanelli and that Columbus read them, it is not clear that Toscanelli actually sent the letters to Columbus. The first was a copy of another letter, dated 24 June 1474, which Toscanelli originally sent to Alfonso V, King of Portugal. The second letter purportedly was written by Toscanelli in direct reply to a lost communication by Columbus. The dating of this second letter is controversial; some scholars place it in the 1470s, others assign it to the early 1480s. Both Toscanelli letters are traditional in nature, presenting the theory that the riches of the Orient described by Marco Polo and others might well be reached by sailing west rather than by traveling overland to the east.

In sum, one looks in vain for novel, even esoteric elements in the cosmographical and geographical sources used by Columbus in formulating the Enterprise of the Indies. Instead, it is the conventional, if not venerable grounding of his ideas that emerges. It seems that he believed that his voyage westward would finally verify the theories set forth by ancient and medieval authorities, not significantly alter them.

If this conclusion is correct, then it raises the interesting question of whether the usual historical accounts adequately explain the actions and motivations of Columbus and the genesis of his project. Further examination of Columbus's writings and related sources such as Ferdinand's biography reveal that there was another important dimension to Columbus's understanding of the "Enterprise" and its larger historical significance. This is what might be called the religious or spiritual dimension.

While Columbus fought to be awarded the title of "Admiral of the Ocean Sea," he also nurtured a second self-image. It was that of *Christoferens* (the "Christ-bearer"). To his mind, his given name of Christopher signified his divinely ordained mission to carry Christianity across the westward ocean to what he presumed were the pagans of the Orient. Ferdinand discusses this point in chapter four of his biography of his father, suggesting that Columbus's role as global evangelist was but an imitation of Saint Christopher, who was believed to have carried the Christ child across a dangerous river on his shoulders. Columbus's portage of Christianity to the New World assured that, "the Indian nations might become dwellers in the triumphant Church of Heaven." To Ferdinand, the family surname, Columbus, was also a sign of his father's special destiny. It means "dove" in Latin and, like the dove of Noah's ark, his father had carried the oil of baptism over the waters of the Atlantic to those previously confined in the darkness of their paganism.

Columbus himself apparently encoded the mystical etymology of his name in the signature which he almost invariably employed from the time of his first voyage until his death in 1506. The signature consists of a singular pattern of letters, suffixed by an abbreviated form of the name, "Christoferens," and appears as follows:

.S.

.S. .A. .S.

X M Y

XpoFERENS

The words presumably designated by the letters have not yet been identified, though different possibilities have been devised.

It seems likely that Columbus's self-image as the "Christ-bearer" evolved over a period of several decades. Its origins probably lie in the 1480s, the period during which he formulated the Enterprise of the Indies and began to seek funding for it. The evolution of "Christoferens" can be traced through Columbus's annotations to a number of philosophical and theological works by Pierre d'Ailly. It emerges also through excerpts he gathered for a book he never completed, titled *The Book of Prophecies*, as well as through a number of letters he addressed to Ferdinand and Isabel.

The incunabulum of d'Ailly's writings which came into Columbus's hands contained not only *Imago mundi* but also a number of other short pieces. In these, d'Ailly set forth his conception of providential history and how it could be understood through astrology and the interpretation of prophecy. Put somewhat differently, d'Ailly, like many other medieval thinkers, believed that significant historical events unfolded according to God's plan. These events were frequently marked by unusual planetary conjunctions or by extraordinary celestial phenomena such as the appearance of comets. They could also be identified and explained by the proper interpretation of scriptural and other related prophecies. Columbus's annotations to these works show that he followed d'Ailly's discussions with considerable interest.

A number of these short pieces indicated that d'Ailly was convinced that the end of the world was quickly approaching. His studies of earlier texts, linking various planetary conjunctions with a succession of periods in world history, told him that the present age was the penultimate one. In fact, he calculated that there were but 155 years left. The present age, the age of Christianity, marked by the conjunction of Jupiter and Mercury, would soon give way to the final age of the Antichrist, marked by the conjunction of Jupiter and the Moon. This transition to the final stages of history would be indicated by the fulfillment of a number of famous late antique and medieval prophecies.

Columbus excerpted several key passages wherein D'Ailly set forth these ideas for inclusion in *The Book of Prophecies*. As mentioned earlier, this work was never completed. The manuscript, which survives in the Biblioteca Columbina, consists of a collection of passages from Scripture and from a variety of ancient and medieval texts, particularly those of

John Carter Brown Library, Brown University

In a fifteenth century woodcut from an illustrated letter of Christopher Columbus (1493), explorers encounter the New World, beginning a process of interchange that shapes humankind and the environment for centuries to come.

d'Ailly. The dating of this manuscript is uncertain; but, it seems likely that Columbus and his collaborator, a monk named Gaspar Gorricio, gathered the materials contained therein over a period of years subsequent to Columbus's first voyage. The collection is prefaced by an incomplete letter from Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabel, written in late 1501 or early 1502 (between his third and fourth voyages to the New World).

The pattern of excerpts contained in *The Book of Prophecies* indicated that Columbus was seeking to demonstrate the special role he believed he was destined to play as the "Christ-bearer" in the unfolding of the historical events that would mark the imminent ending of the world. His discovery of a heretofore unknown land of pagans and his introduction of Christianity to that land seemed finally to fulfill the biblical prophecy of John 10:16. This verse was widely held to foretell a global conversion of peoples to whom Christianity had previously been unknown ("other sheep I have who are not of this fold"). This final triumph of Christianity ("there shall be one fold and one shepherd") would be accompanied by the defeat of the Antichrist; these events would augur the end of time and the advent of the Last Judgment. Columbus evidently believed then, that his discovery of a new world marked the proximity of the end of the world. In fact, he followed d'Ailly's assertion that but a century and a half of post-lapsarian time and space remained.

The force of that conviction led him explicitly to disavow the importance of "scientific" knowledge in the formulation of the Enterprise of the Indies. In the prefatory letter to *The Book of Prophecies*, he asserted that, "... reason, mathematics, and 'mappaemundi' were of no use to me in the execution of the enterprise of the Indies." Instead, he seems to claim, it is his preordained role as "Christoferens" which underlies his achievements. The letter states:

> I abandon all my voyaging from a tender age and all the talks I have held with so many people in so many lands and of so many sects, and I abandon all the great arts and writings of which I spoke above. I hold myself only to holy and sacred scripture and to certain prophetic authorities, who through divine revelation have said something on this subject.

Columbus also saw his discoveries as relating to the fulfillment of another crucial, penultimate prophecy, the final recovery of the Holy Land, specifically Jerusalem, from the Muslim infidel. It was a victory which he thought that Ferdinand and Isabel were destined to achieve with his assistance. A number of prophecies culled for *The Book of Prophecies* suggest that the one who would recover Jerusalem for Christianity would come from Iberia. That Columbus took this to mean Ferdinand and Isabel is also evident from his prefatory letter. It proclaims:

> Who would doubt that this light, which urged me on with great haste continuously, without a moment's pause, came to you in a most deep manner, as it did to me? In this voyage to the Indies, Our Lord wished to perform [a] very evident miracle in order to con-

sole me and others in the matter of this other voyage to the Holy Sepulchre [Jerusalem].

Seen in the light of *The Book of Prophecies*, the Enterprise of the Indies begins to take on a connotation quite different than the traditional one. It is the beginning of the end, the step which will herald the era of apocalyptic conversion and the Last Crusade in which the infidel will finally be vanquished.

In the letter to Ferdinand prefacing his account of the fourth voyage of discovery, Columbus pledged himself as a guide for this Last Crusade. He wrote:

> Jerusalem and Mount Zion are to be rebuilt by the hands of Christians as God has declared by the mouth of His prophet in the fourteenth Psalm [vv. 7-8]. The Abbe Joaquim said that he who should do this was to come from Spain; Saint Jerome showed the holy woman the way to accomplish it; and the Emperor of China has, some time since, sent for wise men to instruct him in the faith of Christ. Who will offer himself for this work? Should anyone do so, I pledge myself, in the name of God, to convey him safely thither, provided the Lord permits me to return to Spain.

The preoccupation with his messianic role, which marks Columbus's later years, continues to be regarded as eccentric, as Tzvetan Todorov's recent *The Conquest of America* exemplifies. But to relegate "Christoferens" to the edges of Columbus's (and his culture's) sanity is anachronistic. Such margination robs him of his understanding of historical processes and his part in them. Moreover, the texts and contexts which Columbus employed enjoyed considerable currency in his own day. Indeed, it might be argued that he employed them precisely because they would serve his own interests by situating his accomplishments within the spectrum of prevailing images and designs at the court of Ferdinand and Isabel. In sum, it is important not to allow the contemporary divisions between what we understand to be religion and what we term science to obscure the significant role that "Christoferens" played in contextualizing the Enterprise of the Indies, both for Columbus and for the royal court that he served. ❑

Bibliographical Note

This essay is based upon Pauline Moffitt Watts' "Prophecy and Discovery: On the Spiritual Origins of Christopher Columbus's 'Enterprise of the Indies'," *American Historical Review*, vol. 90, no.1 (February, 1985), pp. 73-102. See that piece for documentation of the texts and ideas presented in the preceding essay.

Other important sources for the study of Columbus's spirituality, his scientific knowledge, and their larger historical contexts include: Ferdinand Columbus, *The Life of Christopher Columbus by His Son Ferdinand* (Benjamin Keen, trans.), New Brunswick, 1959; Bartolomé de las Casas, *History of the Indies*, New York, 1971; W.G.L. Randles, "The Evolution of Columbus's 'India' Project by Portuguese and Spanish Cosmographers in the Light of the Geographical Science of the Period," *Imago Mundi* 42, 1990, pp. 50-64; Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism*, Oxford, 1969; Alain Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesianica en el ambiente franciscanista español*, "Cuadernos Colombinos," vol. 11, Valladolid, 1983; Edmond Buron, *Imago mundi de Pierre d'Ailly*, 3 vols., Paris, 1930 [This work publishes the marginal annotations of Columbus as well as the Latin text and a French translation of *Imago mundi*].

Pauline Moffitt Watts is professor of history at Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville, New York.

Lilly Library

Beginning with Columbus's discovery in 1492, the idea of overseas expansion captured the imagination of many explorers anxious to colonize the far reaches of the Atlantic. Here, a group of explorers depart for the Americas (circa 1617-1634).

Columbus's Spain

José Manuel Nieto Soria

When Columbus arrived in Spain in 1485, he discovered a realm undergoing a dynamic process of transformation. The kingdom was seeking to overcome an array of difficult problems; some contemporary in origin while others were ancient and would continue perplexing the Peninsula right into the twentieth century.

Columbus was profoundly influenced by this Hispanic environment, and in return, the Iberian experience influenced the subsequent colonial enterprise. As a result, Spain's situation at the end of the fifteenth century is essential to a proper understanding of what is now described as "The Discovery."

Columbus sojourned in Spain frequently between 1485 and 1506. His presence coincided with the historic moment of the supreme southern influence of the Kingdom of Castile, when it came to exercise ostensible authority even over the cities of Cordoba and Sevilla. It is in the Castilian context, or more precisely, the Castilian-Andalusian context which would shape the essential features of the Columbian enterprise. In this regard, Professor Miguel Angel Ladero has written:

> It is these 'decisive years' (1485-1492) during which [Columbus's] vision became a reality and eventuated into the subsequent voyages to the New World. It was in Andalusia that Columbus found the material and technical means for his venture, as well as the sailors and the merchants, the friends and protectors, the council of the Franciscan friars, the love of a Cordobesa, and the long-awaited support of the Catholic Kings (*España en 1492* [Madrid: Hernando, 1978]).

Columbus's Spain had a population of about 5.5 million, or one-eighth of the nation's present habitation. Eighty percent were subjects of the crown of Castile, which at the time constituted only seventy-six percent of the kingdoms total geographic area. The entire realm including the ancient kingdoms of Aragon and the Basque provinces, was characterized by its linguistic diversity; nevertheless, by the end of the fifteenth century Castilian was claiming to be "Spanish" since it was the dialect of eighty percent of the kingdom's population.

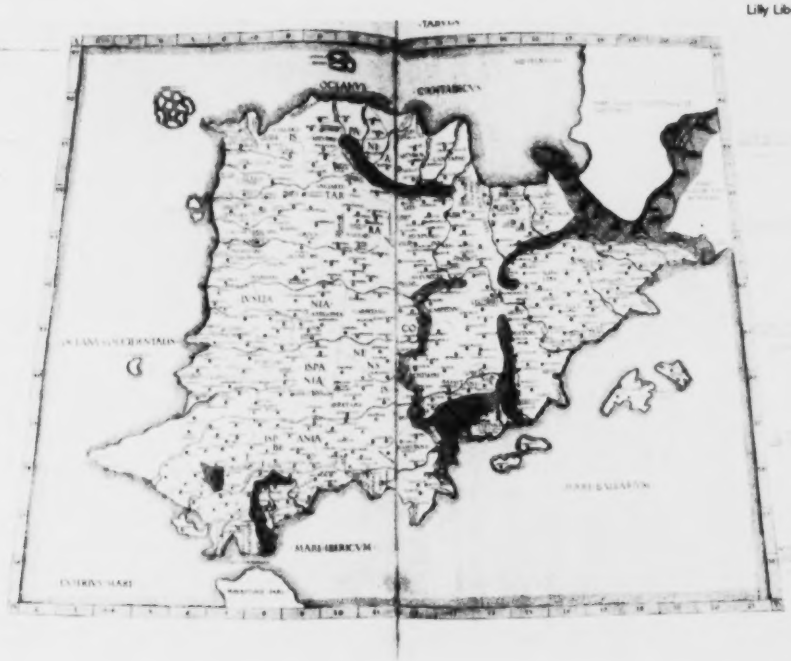
The arrival of Columbus in Spain in 1485 is probably one of the finest examples in history of the 'right man in the right place.'

By a curious coincidence, it was in 1492 that the Sevilian humanist, Antonio de Nebrija (1444-1522), published his *Arte de la lengua castellana*, which some have termed a "handbook of empire." It was this volume, a faithful reflection of the linguistic realities of the Iberian peoples, that made the Castilian dialect the language of discovery and conquest.

The year 1492 falls precisely in the chronological middle of the reign of the "Catholic Monarchs" ("los Reyes Católicos"), Ferdinand and Isabel. It marked a pivotal moment in the nation's domestic development because 1492 encompassed both the end of an epoch and the beginning of much else. The realm was finally pacified after the seemingly endless civil wars which characterized Spanish history throughout the fifteenth century (the last one having been concluded as late as 1480). The principal cause of this violence was the conflicting interests of the monarchs and nobility. The resolution of this struggle was prerequisite to the subsequent conclusion of the so-called "Reconquest" ("Reconquista"), which came with Ferdinand and Isabel's capture of Granada in 1492. The great southern city was the last Moorish enclave on the Iberian peninsula and Columbus witnessed its surrender by the Muslims from a vantage point within the Castilian encampment.

The political theory of this era of emerging European nations prescribed that the disappearance of the Islamic presence in Spain would also entail the banishment (now unconscionable) of the Jewish faith from the kingdom, even though Judaism had thrived on the Peninsula for centuries. The then-fashionable notion of

Lilly Library



At nearly two-hundred thousand square miles, Ptolemy's Spain in *Geographica* (1490) depicts the region prior to the fall of Granada in 1492.

religious conformity within each state produced "pious cruelty" (to use Machiavelli's phrase), which by a royal decree of 31 March 1492, expelled the Jews from the realm.

Ferdinand and Isabel's domain was, in fact, an amalgam of two Iberian kingdoms, Castile and Aragon. Their union in 1479 created the basis of an integrated state which yielded extraordinary authority to its rulers, coinciding with Western political thought of the period. Mirroring this royal authoritarianism were the enormous powers which the Catholic Monarchs finally invested in Christopher Columbus as they designated him their Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor. The prerogatives which Columbus would assert in the New World faithfully reflected his royal patrons' aspirations to sovereign power.

The Spanish situation at the conclusion of the fifteenth century demonstrates at least three tendencies which prove to be central to the Columbian enterprise. They were: Spain's experience as a conquering and colonizing kingdom; its interests in Atlantic expansion; and its missionary inclinations.

It is a noteworthy coincidence that the Columbian enterprise drew upon the unique Iberian experience of conquest and colonization, which had characterized the history of the Peninsula for so many centuries and culminated in the very year of "the Discovery." Spain's medieval era was, in many respects, an account of continuous religious warfare and, above all, was characterized by the colonization and repopulation of areas abandoned by Islam. Given this heritage, it is hardly novel to interpret the Spanish experience in the Americas as a continuation of this extraordinary lifestyle, which was the common heritage of all the medieval kingdoms of Spain.

The fifteenth century was for the Iberian world (we must include at this point the attainments of the Portuguese) the preeminent moment of Atlantic exploration and expansion. Castile launched the conquest of the Canary Islands as early as 1402, and subsequently both Castile and Portugal probed the coast of Northwest Africa. By 1441, it was already clear that the caravel, the quintessential vessel of "discovery," was best suited to exploratory voyages along Africa's Atlantic coast. We even have good reason to believe that as early as 1477, a Portuguese or Andalusian vessel crossed the central Atlantic. Since the voyagers did not proclaim their achievement, they paved the way for Columbus.

In addition to all of these factors, Castile's intense commitment to a universal form of Christian evangelism must be added. For more than a century before its American encounters, Castilians had been engaged in religious conquests in the Canaries, the Kingdom of Granada, and North Africa. Castile's encounter with America, therefore, should not be understood as some new experience, but rather an expanded opportunity for the Franciscan missionaries who had been active in the Hispanic environment since the end of the fourteenth century. Columbus himself was a conspicuous exponent of this crusader mentality, which had been central to the Hispanic experience since the end of the eleventh century.

To summarize, the arrival of Columbus in Spain in 1485 is probably one of the finest examples in history of the merit of the ancient axiom about the "right man in the right place." Castile's history, as well as its then-current events, neatly coincided with the Genoese navigator's hopes of creating new reality, which ironically would come to bear the name "America" and not his own. The New World's history needs to be understood as a product of that confluence. ❑

Dr. José Mauel Nieto Soria is with the Department of Medieval History, Universidad Complutense, in Madrid Spain.

The Columbian Quincentenary: A Necessary Reassessment

Kirkpatrick Sale

When "the Admiral went ashore in the armed longboat" in the early morning of 12 October 1492, accompanied by the royal banners, royal attendants, and fellow captains in order to "take, as in fact he did take, possession of the said island for the king and the queen, his lords," Columbus certainly had no idea of the magnitude of what he was accomplishing. But, then, how could he? For it was arguably the most important human act since the development of agriculture, more resonant in earthly affairs than even the founding of the great religions, more percussive in the lives of more humans (and more other species), and ultimately more fateful for the earth itself.

The five-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's voyage allows this age, as none before, to undertake a full-scale reassessment of all that came in its wake, to place the voyage in its widest historical context and, by examining the myths and controversies that have surrounded it for so long, to re-evaluate its meaning for the contemporary world. Let me suggest some of the areas into which such a reassessment might lead us.

✦ ✦ ✦

To begin with, it is important to understand why this visit to an unprepossessing coral island with nothing more than "very green trees and many ponds" and people "very poor in everything" who "go around naked as their mothers bore them," should rank as such a significant event. As we can tell from our five-century perspective, there are several consequential reasons.

1. This event began the effective expansion of the relatively small European subcontinent beyond its borders, leading to the most sweeping dispersion of any one civilization in the history of the world. It enabled a single culture to encompass the entire globe as never before, Europeanizing (or "Westernizing") the great bulk of humanity until it became European in languages and ideas, and institutions and dress, technologies and values that suffused once-isolated cultures.

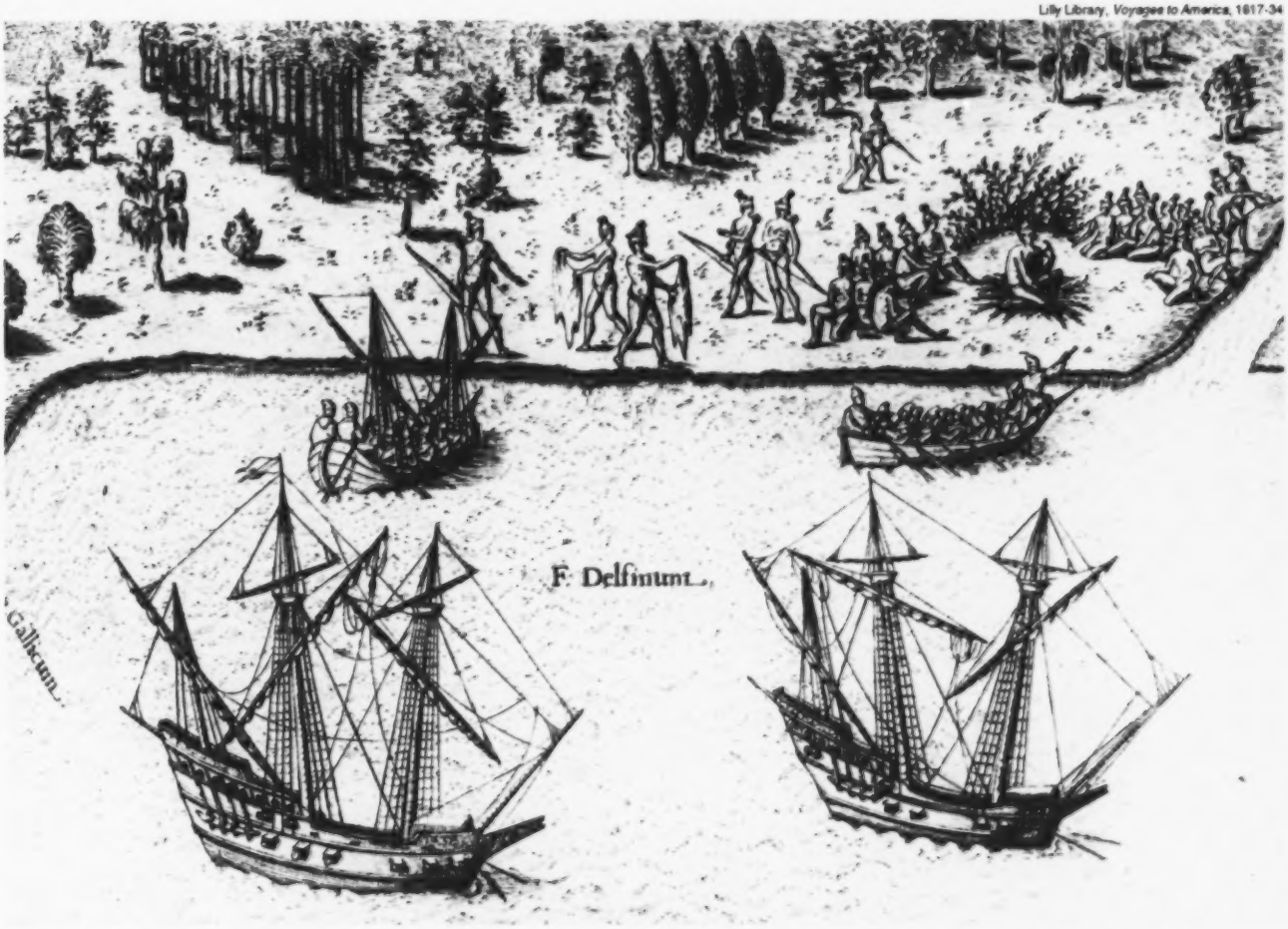
Columbus certainly had no idea of the magnitude of what he was accomplishing. But, then, how could he?

2. The 1492 voyage led inexorably to Europe's discovery and conquest of America's two vast continents and the extraction from them riches beyond imagination. The vast treasures of Mexico and Peru—silver and gold in therefore unknown quantities—and pearls, gems, woods, dyes, fishes, furs, foods, and pharmaceuticals elsewhere in the Americas, were the salvation of a European economy then at its nadir, fueling an inflation and expansionary binge that went on uninterrupted for the next two centuries.

3. The success of European expansion and its monetary rewards meant that the systems and institutions that were only fledgling in fifteenth-century Europe could develop to their fullest. Hence, the consolidation of the nation-state and its armies, the triumph of the capitalist method of economic organization, the validation of humanism and its secular view of the world, and the ultimate confirmation of Western rationalism and such of its offsprings as science and technology. In other words, the wonderfully synergistic systems became nothing less than what we call modern civilization.

4. The Columbian discovery, followed very swiftly by an occupation that brought to the Americas such species as horses, cows, brown rats, apple trees, and dandelions, took abroad such items as corn, potatoes, chilies, tobacco, and tomatoes. This led to an eventual transfer of species that has done more to change the biota of the earth than any event since the extinctions at the end of the Permian period. In effect, from the point of view of the mixture of plant and animal species, the continents of the globe have been rejoined for the first time since the

Lilly Library, *Voyages to America*, 1617-34



Furs were the first of the New World's natural resources to be exploited. By the end of the sixteenth century, countless ships were transporting furs to Europe.

break-up of Pangaea billions of years ago.

5. And this event, enabling humans eventually to settle the entire world and control all forms of nature they found there, exploiting, manipulating, and even destroying species and environments, has led to the dominance and power of a single species, such has never been known before. That dominance, and the habit of mind which sustains it, now threatens the very existence of all oxygen-dependent species on earth, perhaps the very existence of the earth as we know it.

That combination of consequences, I submit (any one of which must be considered momentous), establishes the European discovery of America in 1492 as a phenomenon that deserves our attention, our reflection, as none other does. And the quincentenary offers a unique opportunity for just that reassessment.

◆ ◆ ◆

The next necessary step is to dispel the various myths that have grown up around the figure of Columbus over the centuries, making him serve one selfish purpose, one quite unintended cause or other, but obscuring the real man and his real accomplishments. The task is not easy, for the myths are many and some quite old, and in some cases the truth is not easy to come by. For starters, we can at least lay to rest these untruths.

1. **Columbus sailed to prove the world was round.** I wonder at the near-universal persistence of this myth, since for some time historians have known that educated Europe knew the world was round, just as ancients had proved, and certainly sailors and those concerned with the sea knew that ships regularly go over the horizon and return. Columbus obviously did not know what was out there on the globe, but he knew it was round and so did all the councils with which he dealt.

2. **Isabel pawned her jewels to pay for the first voyage.** Even Columbus's first biographer, his son Fernando, admits that this is not true, saying that she was "ready to pledge her jewels" but did not need to because the court officer, Luis Santangel, came up with a loan. In any case, all signs point to the fact that her jewels, and anything else of value, would have been hocked long before in order to

pay for the very expensive campaigns against Moorish Granada, which was concluded successfully only in January 1492.

3. **The crew on the first voyage were mostly criminals.** Although Ferdinand and Isabel issued a decree suspending juridical procedures against anyone signing on for the first voyage, they did not empty jails, nor was it necessary, inasmuch as enough veteran sailors of Palos were persuaded to join in the expedition. In the event, one of those sailors was released from jail along with three of his friends who had tried to rescue him. They made the trip, but the remainder of the ninety were sail-birds, not jail-birds.

4. **The crew mutinied on the voyage out and threatened to throw Columbus overboard.** Nothing like it happened, as we may judge from Columbus's own journal of the first voyage. It is true that on 10 October, a month from the Canaries and longer at sea than any Europeans had probably been at one stretch, "the people could stand it no longer and complained of the long voyage"—as well they might. Columbus mollified them with promises of treasures to be found and said he was determined to go on, and that apparently was the end of that—no threats, no mutiny.

5. **Columbus went to his deathbed thinking that he had found Asia.** This contention, retailed even by some reputable historians, depends on not reading the Admiral's own record. On the third voyage, in 1498, he determined that the large mass of land off Trinidad "was not an island but a continent," moreover, "a mighty continent which was hitherto unknown." Columbus would later call it a "new world," clearly not Asia but the continent we now know as South America. Again, in his *Book of Privileges* of 1501 or 1502, he refers to his discoveries as "Indias Occidentales"; in other words, West Indies, as distinct from the East Indies, which was Asia. Columbus confirmed this notion regarding his final voyage in his letter to the Spanish sovereigns of July 1503. He went to his deathbed, as John Boyd Thacher noted, realizing that, "between the country of the Great Khan and the shores of Europe lay great continental lands and that he—Christopher Columbus—and none other was their discoverer."

6. **Columbus died in obscurity and was forgotten until the nineteenth century.** Columbus was out of royal favor when he died in 1506, and his passing was not recorded anywhere. His achievement was, nevertheless, well known in Spain and Italy in particular, and from 1516 on (when the first account of Columbus's life was printed) he was duly credited as being the first to discover the New World.

I would like to suggest, that it is neither celebration nor mourning to which our reassessment should lead us.

As the importance of that event became clearer with the subsequent discovery of treasure in Mexico and Peru, his reputation and place in the history books and lyric poems only grew greater. Within the first century after his death, Columbus was given mention in at least 142 works in 385 editions. A minimum of two dozen of these volumes were devoted essentially to his life and works and one was a full scale biography. At no time was he ever forgotten, but it is true that a tremendous outpouring of attention followed the printing of his first journal in 1825 and Washington Irving's biography of Columbus in 1827.

✦ ✦ ✦

The last and perhaps most difficult step in our quincentenary reassessment is also the most necessary. It is simply to determine whether, when looked at from today's perspective, the conquest of the Americas by Europeans of the early modern age was more beneficial on the whole than pernicious (or, as the "philosophes" of eighteenth-century France actually phrased it, "Was the discovery of America a blessing or a curse to humankind?"). In other words, is the quincentenary properly an occasion for celebration, as the official national commission wish us to believe, or a time for mourning, as certain American Indian groups are urging upon us—or maybe something else entirely?

There are no easy answers. On the one hand, we might count as positive such things as the vast development in science and technology that the discovery (and subsequent conquest and wealth) gave rise to: the introduction to the rest of the world of vital American foodstuffs and medicines upon which the lives of millions have depended; the attainments of high culture and the arts fueled by New World treasure; the settlement and population of heretofore unpopulated lands and the consequent spread of an ever-more-complex civilization; and the achievements of capitalism and industrialization in advancing material betterment, including health and survival, for much of the globe.

On the other hand, we might reckon the prices paid for all these accomplishments: the elimination of ninety-five percent of the indigenous American people (and their culture) through disruption and disease; the destruction of most of the existing American countryside and countless thousands of its species; the inauguration of the centuries-long African slave trade to sustain New World colonies; the imposition of essentially rapacious colonial regimes over three-quarters of the earth with odious residues lasting to the present. Flowing from these developments have been: the creation of a global industrial monoculture, which is essentially out of control; the explosion of world populations and the starvation and suffering of vast billions of them; the famous alienation and emptiness of modern, affluent cultures and their problems of addiction and alcoholism and violence and venality; and the environmental degradation and

destruction that has poisoned air and water and land around the world and threatens the health and survival of mammalian species and the planet itself.

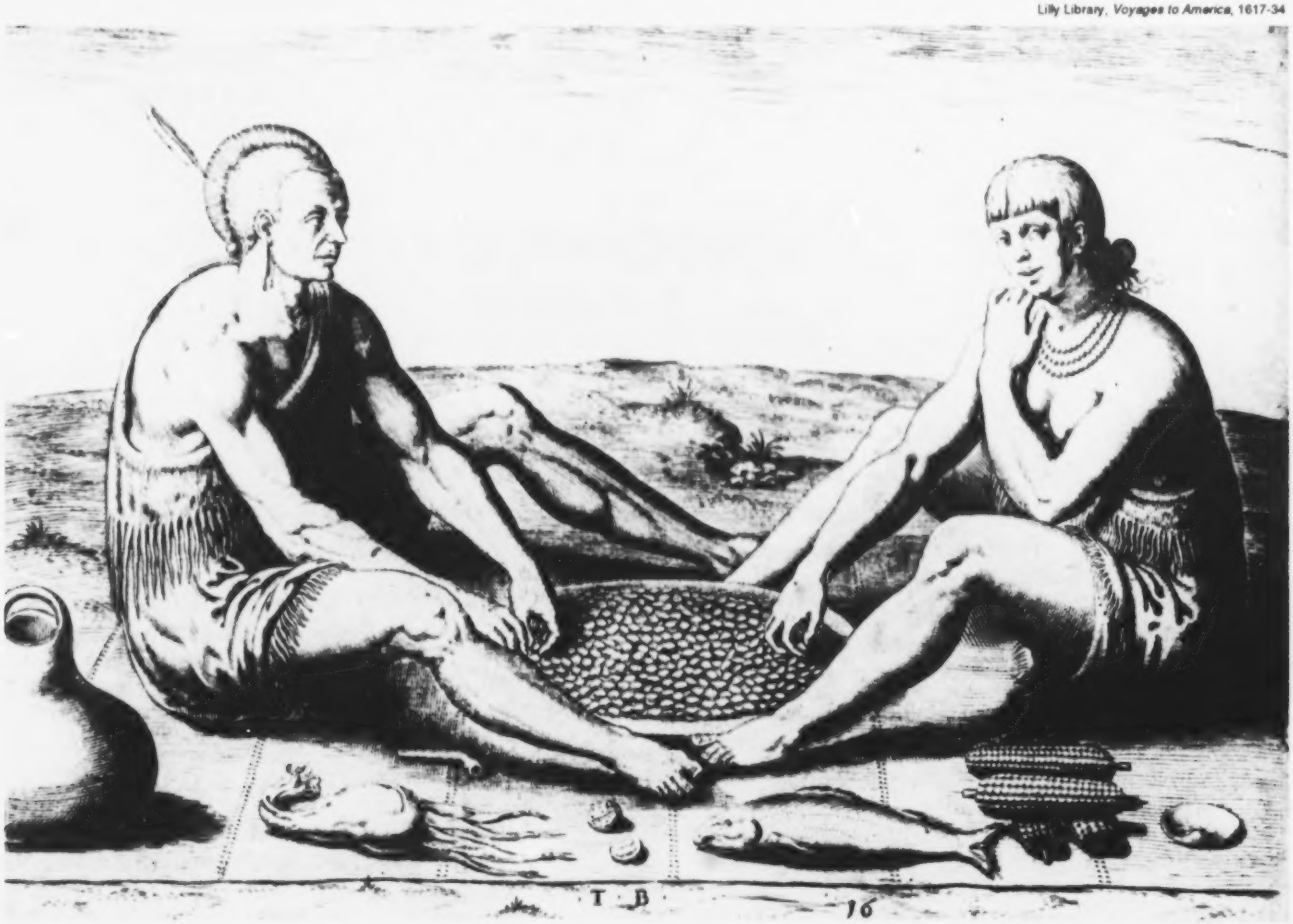
Each individual must come to their own conclusion when faced with perplexities of this kind. I would like to suggest, however, that it is neither celebration nor mourning to which our reassessment should lead us but, rather, a more complicated third way. Put simply, it should occasion a deeply introspective reconsideration of what European-American culture, what Western Civilization, is really composed of, is really built upon, is really leading us to. And, if amidst the quincentenary hoopla and foofaraw, we find that we do not entirely approve of what we see and hear, do not feel quite comfortable with the extremes enunciated around us, that may be the moment to start a process of soul-searching that can in time lead to thoughts of altering, perhaps even rejecting, the tenets of that culture, that civilization. And that reassessment is surely something in which our children deserve to participate as fully as we.

✦ ✦ ✦

At the end of his first voyage, almost exactly five months after his spectacular landing at the small coral island somewhere in the New World, Admiral Columbus wrote in his journal that he regarded his achievement as one that "Our Lord had let him make and in which He had chosen to enlighten him." Columbus then added, "I hope in our Lord that it will be the greatest honor to Christianity that . . . has ever come about." That conclusion, I would say is entirely problematical, but certainly it is the stuff which our concerns, our reassessment, must be about in 1992. ❑

Kirkpatrick Sale is a historian and writer living in New York and author of The Conquest of Paradise.

Lilly Library, *Voyages to America*, 1617-34



Explorers of the Americas introduced native American goods such as tobacco, corn, tomatoes, and many varieties of beans to the Old World. Many of the new plants were not fully accepted by the Europeans for several centuries.

The Hemispheric Roots of the Columbian Voyages

Lynda N. Shaffer

Accounts of northwestern Europe's rise to a position of global power often begin with the revolutionary ocean voyages that Iberian royalty sponsored—across the Atlantic, around Africa, and ultimately around the world. They are portrayed as unprecedented historical departures and are closely linked with developments that ushered in the modern world. And because it was Europeans who made these voyages, few historians have searched for the origins of either the voyages or the developments they spawned outside the bounds of Western Europe.

Yet when the Portuguese began their explorations down the coast of Africa, one of their purposes was to find a sea route to the trading networks of West Africa, whence gold had been crossing the Sahara and reaching the Mediterranean for over a millennium. In 1492 when Columbus crossed the Atlantic his intention was to find a sea route from Spain to the spice markets of the East Indies. When he reached the Bahamas, he thought he was in Asia, which is why he called the Americans, Indians. It would thus seem logical that our search for origins should be extended to West Africa and Southeast Asia, the places that the voyagers sought.

If we look for the origins of many of the developments associated with the voyages—the growth of the spice trade, the exploitation of new sources of bullion, the cultivation and dispersion of commercial crops such as sugar and cotton, and the discovery and dispersion of a new mathematics and new technologies—we will be drawn inevitably all the way across the hemisphere through the lands that were once the Arab caliphates to India and China.

One of the earliest centers of the international spice trade was in southern India, and by the time of the Roman Empire large quantities of pepper were being shipped from there to the Mediterranean market.

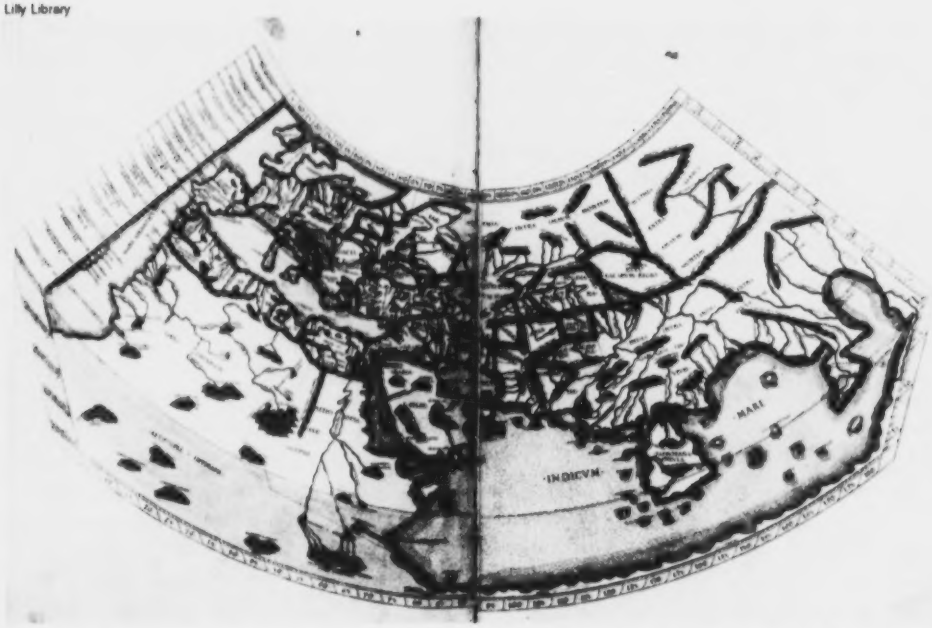
Our search for origins should be extended to West Africa and Southeast Asia, the places that the voyagers sought.

But many of the most important developments, those that ultimately created the context from which the European voyages came, had their beginnings in northern India during the time of the Gupta Empire (Current Era (C. E.), 320 to 535). Domesticated cotton had been growing in India since about 2000 B.C.E. (Before Current Era), but by the time of the Gutpa kings, Indian manufacturers and merchants had transformed it into an international commodity (1). Domestic sugar cane had spread to India from Southeast Asia, and around 350 C.E. the Indians discovered how to make crystallized sugar from the cane juice (2). Unlike the cane, the crystallized grains could be easily stored and shipped, and sugar soon became an important commodity both on the local and international markets. The Indians also "discovered" the gold available in the maritime realm of Southeast Asia, and introduced it onto the international trade routes.

Modern mathematics had its beginning in India. An important element in this Indian achievement was a unique combination of features possessed by their numerals, the same ones that are now used all around the globe: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 0. (Because the Europeans got them from the Arabs, they are sometimes referred to as Arabic numerals in the West, but the Arabs got them from the Indians and call them Hindu numerals.)

The Indians used a base ten place-value system, but most importantly they invented the first real zero (3). (Although the Babylonians prior to the fourth century B.C.E. had possessed a symbol which they used as a place holder in numbers such as 206, it did not function as a true zero.) The oldest servicing Indian mathematical text is dated 499 C.E., and by the time that it was written the uses of zero were well understood. As a result, Indian mathematics were able to perform calculations more

Lilly Library



Ptolemy's 1490 map depicts the world before Columbus's discovery of the Americas. Printed in *Geographica*, this type of map was used by early explorers.

rapidly and accurately, and were making significant advances in the field.

The Malay sailors of maritime Southeast Asia (who then lived in what is now the southern part of Vietnam and around the Gulf of Thailand, as well as on the Malay Peninsula, and the islands of present-day Indonesia and the Philippines) also played a strategic role in the process that led to the European voyages (4). Some time around 300 B.C.E., they learned to ride the monsoons, the seasonal winds that carried them to China, India, the east coast of Africa, and across the southern Pacific to Easter Island (5). They used a balance-lug sail, a likely prototype of the lateen sail, which the Polynesians to their east and the Arabs to their west both developed (6). By about 350 B.C.E., the Malays had pioneered the first all-sea route that carried international traders back and forth between Sri Lanka and China by way of the Strait of Malacca. They also had developed an international market for the fine spices, for the cloves, nutmeg, and mace that came from Moluccas.

By about 600 C.E. all of the Indian achievements mentioned above, and many more, had made their way to China. Long before they arrived, the Chinese possessed many technologies that would eventually spread westward and take on global significance. An early compass, a lodestone carved in the shape of a ladle placed upon a round bronze plate, was already in use by the third century B.C.E., and paper had been invented by the first century B.C.E. But it was only after the arrival of the Indian developments that a veritable scientific and technological explosion occurred in China (7). Among other things, gunpowder and printing were invented during the Tang Dynasty (618 to 906 C.E.), and by the time of the Song (960 to 1279) the Chinese had discovered both remanent magnetism and how to calculate the difference between true and magnetic north.

By the tenth century, China's mariners knew how to tack against the wind, had begun to use the compass for navigation, and had set sail for the spice islands of Southeast Asia. And, unlike Columbus, these sailors actually found the islands they sought. On the other hand, they did not discover the Western Hemisphere, since it did not lie between their homeland and the source of the spices.

The Arabs' lateen sail had spread to the Mediterranean long before the birth of Mohammed, but it was after the coming of the Prophet and the conquests of the seventh and eighth centuries C. E. that scholars and craftsmen in the realm of the Muslim caliphates made their most significant contributions. They became familiar with many of the Indian achievements and some of the Chinese, as well. They adopted the Indian numerals and made important advances in algebra and calculus. They spread the cultivation of many Asian commercial crops, such as cotton and sugar, and the techniques of paper manufacturing to the Mediterranean. And they were also responsible for the introduction of the compass to Mediterranean waters.

The Arab conquests of North Africa and Spain brought them into contact with the Saharan Berbers, who had long traded in West African gold. Between 745 and 755 C.E., Abdul al Rahman, the Arab ruler of Morocco (not to be confused with an identically named ruler in Islamic Spain), set out to expand the trans-Saharan gold trade by overseeing the construction of a series of wells from Sijilmasa to the Berber settlement at Wadidara, which was located some twenty-three days journey from Kumbi-Saleh, the capital of Ghana. This Arab "discovery" of West African gold would eventually double the amount of

gold in international circulation (8). The Arabs also developed silver mines in Central Asia, including a veritable silver mountain at Bajahir in present-day Afghanistan.

The thirteenth century was marked by the expansion of new powers—Venice in the Mediterranean, Mali in West Africa, Majapahit in Southeast Asia, and the Mongols whose domain extended from Eastern Europe to Korea. New trade routes opened up making it possible for Venetians like Marco Polo to travel to China, and for Genoese merchants to purchase in Black Sea markets Lama Buddhist slaves from the Chinese frontier (9). After 1202 C.E., when Leonardo Fibonacci (also known as Leonardo of Pisa) published his *Liber Abaci*, Europeans began to acquire the expertise of the Arabic-writing world in mathematics. As late as 1229, the Senate of Florence actually tried, unsuccessfully, to ban the use of Indian numbers in local markets.

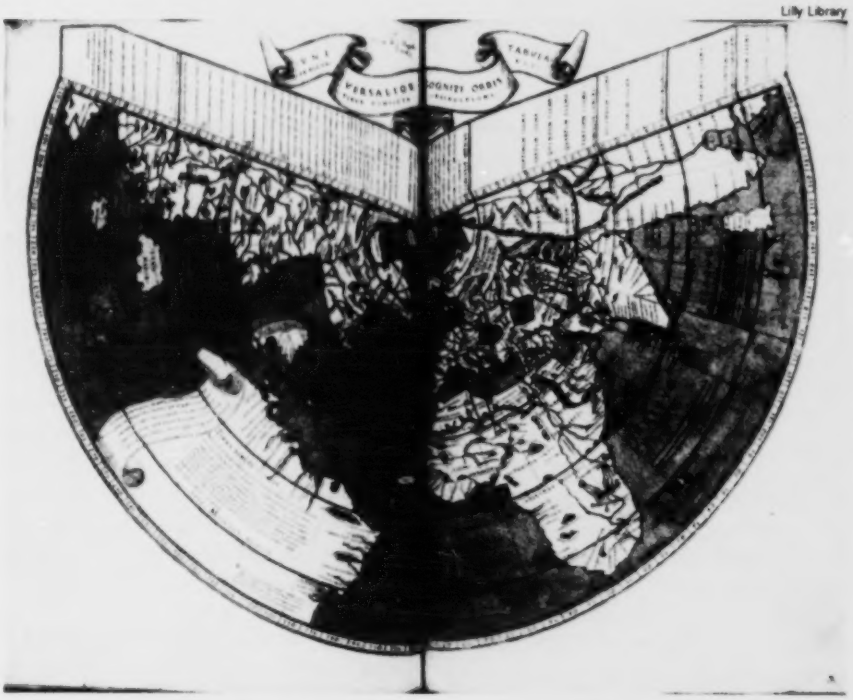
In the fourteenth century, gunpowder and an early kind of printing could be found in Italy, and in the fifteenth century, the Portuguese discovered how to rig Atlantic hulls with a combination of lateen sails and Europeans square sails. The ship that resulted, the caravel, was thus of mixed ancestry. It was this ship that made the European voyages possible.

There is much more that one could add, but even this abridged account makes clear that the European voyages and the developments associated with them grew out of a context created by hemisphere-wide processes. They were no less and no more than the culminating act of a much longer drama that had played upon a stage as large as the Eastern Hemisphere. The European grand finale was unique in that it irrevocably linked the two hemispheres for the first time and thereby created a stage of global proportions. But, otherwise, no part of the Columbian voyages were without precedent. They were momentous, but incremental expansion of a stage that was already of hemispheric dimension. Thus, any presentation that only includes this one culminating act is partial, and artificially isolates it from all those preceding acts without which it would not have been possible. ❑

Endnotes

1. Andrew Watkins, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World: The Diffusion of Crops and Farming Techniques, 700-1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
2. Joseph E. Schwartzberg, "A Chronology of South Asia." In *A Historical Atlas of South Asia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978).
3. Georges Ifrah, *From One to Zero: A Universal History of Numbers*, trans. Lowell Bair (New York: Viking Press, 1985).
4. Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).
5. Keith Taylor, "Madagascar in the Ancient Malayo-Polynesian Myths." In Kenneth Hall and John Whitmore, *Explorations in Early Southeast Asian History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, 1975).
6. George Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Medieval Times*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951).
7. China Science and Technology Museum, *China—7000 Years of Discovery: China's Ancient Technology* (Beijing: *China Reconstructs* Magazine, 1983).
8. Anthony Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973).
9. Lynn White, Jr., "Tibet, India, and Malaya as Sources of Western Medieval Technology," *American Historical Review* 65 (1960): 515-526.

Lynda N. Shaffer is professor of history at Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts.



Ptolemy's map of the world changes substantially after the Americas are discovered. This 1508 map is from an updated edition of *Geographica*.

The Early Black Diaspora in the Americas: The First Century After Columbus

Colin Palmer

The black person is no longer the forgotten early resident of the Americas. During the last twenty years, much scholarly attention has been devoted to the Africans' role in the conquest, colonization, and cultural evolution of these colonial societies. While the broad contours of the African experiences in this hemisphere are known, however, many aspects either remain unstudied or are imperfectly understood. Yet, the recent attention being paid to this dimension of the early American history will deepen our understanding of the black societies' development, their ethos, the changing relationships between elites and non-elites, and race relations.

It is worthwhile to recall that not too long ago many historians doubted that the history of blacks in early America could be written given the apparent paucity of credible sources. This perception has, of course, changed as new repositories of materials have been discovered and exploited. In addition, new questions have been asked of the existing sources, the methodology has been refined, and many subtle and creative minds have been hard at work. Still, the study of the early black presence in the Americas is in its infancy and I shall attempt to assess briefly our present state of knowledge and suggest areas for future research.

It is not entirely clear when the first Africans arrived in the hemisphere. Some scholars suggest that West African traders had established commercial relationships with the indigenous peoples of the Americas long before the arrival of the Europeans. Others argue that the first blacks arrived with Christopher Columbus during his second voyage. These were free persons who played active roles in the settlement of Hispañola, the first Spanish colony in the Americas. Along with the Spaniards and the Indians, they would lay the foundations of the Iberian empire in the Americas.

Many historians doubted that the history of blacks in early America could be written given the apparent paucity of credible sources.

As an institution, however, African slavery was first introduced into the Caribbean in 1502. In that year, the Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, granted their approval to the governor of Hispañola, Nicholás de Ovando to use African slaves. In time, the institution of slavery would spread to other Spanish colonies such as Cuba, Jamaica, Mexico, and Peru. The Spanish example would soon be copied by other European nations. By the mid-seventeenth century, Spain's nominal control of the Caribbean Islands had been challenged by other Europeans, principally the English, the Dutch, and the French. The French colonized Martinique and Guadeloupe in 1635 and acquired St. Dominique in 1697. The Dutch took possession of the islands of Saba, St. Eustatius, St. Maarten, and Curacao between 1630 and 1640 and the Danes settled in St. Thomas in 1672. The English, in their turn, occupied St. Christopher in 1624, Barbados (1627), Nevis (1628), Montserrat and Antigua (1632), and won Jamaica from the Spaniards in 1655.

African slaves were imported to meet the economic needs of the Europeans in all of the Caribbean Islands. Similar developments occurred in the Spanish empire on the mainland and in Portuguese Brazil. By 1640 perhaps as many as 175,000 slaves had been imported into the Spanish American colonies. Brazil received about 50,000 African slaves by 1600 and the British West Indies received about 20,000 by 1650 and 174,000 by 1700.

British North America is a special case demography. The first Africans did not arrive until 1619. By 1650, 1,600 Africans had been imported into North American colonies and by 1700, at least 28,500 had arrived. It needs to be emphasized in this context that the United States received only about five percent of the slaves who came to the Americas during the entire

Library of Congress, *La Galane Agreeable*

The Americas, West Indies, and West Africa formed an economic triangle upon which the European colonies were dependent. Rum, sugar, and molasses were bartered for the much needed slave labor to settle the New World.

period of slave trade. The remaining numbers were absorbed by the slave societies of Latin America and the Caribbean. It may be speculated that overall a minimum of ten million Africans arrived in the Americas although the figure could go as high as twelve or fifteen million. Philip Curtin's earlier estimate of 9,566,000 has been modified, albeit not substantially, by a number of more recent studies (1). These figures, to be sure, do not include the sizable portion of persons who were born into slavery in the various societies.

Any assessment of current research must, perforce, begin with the slave trade. A number of recent works including those by Philip Curtin, Enriqueta Vila Vilar, and myself have provided a reliable picture of the ethnic origins of the slaves, the sexual composition of the cargoes, the mortality rates during the Atlantic Passage, and the distribution patterns in the Americas (2). These studies make clear, for example, that such colonies like Mexico and Peru received most of their slaves by 1650. In fact, the black population exceeded that of the whites in those two societies by about 1570. These colonies had become quite dependent on African labor in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries because of the drastic decline of the Indian population and the resulting need for an alternative source of exploited labor.

Although these studies provide the broad outlines of the trade, they fail to address the issues central to our understanding of early traffic in human merchandise. We do not yet have a nuanced understanding of the ethos of those societies from which the Africans were drawn, the processes by which individuals became slaves in Africa, or the post-enslavement mortality rates on the Coast. Nor do we fully understand the nature of the Africans' resistance to their enslavement, the profitability rates of the trade, and the mortality rates in the early months upon their arrival in the Americas. It must also be noted that the domestic slave trade in the early Americas remains essentially unstudied. There are no major studies of the mechanics of this aspect of the trade, its ebb and flow, its principal characteristics and so on.

The role of the slaves in the economies of the early colonial societies has received the attention of at least two scholars. Frederick Bowser has examined the role of blacks in early Spanish Peru and I have done a similar study of early colonial Mexico (3). The other Spanish societies have not yet received similar scholarly attention. The literature on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—particularly for Cuba—is more abundant, however much more work is needed on the formative years of the black presence (4).

One of the principal criticisms of earlier works on Latin American slavery is that they were much too legalistic in their approach and they did not explore adequately the social, cultural, and economic dynamics of the colonial societies. Studies by Stanley Elkins and Frank Tannenbaum, as suggestive as they undoubtedly were, did not utilize fresh archival data (5). Their reliance on such metropolitan slave codes as the Siete Paridas to provide an accurate picture of the slaves' experiences was also misleading. It was one thing for the laws of the metropolitan country to recognize the moral and legal personalities of the slaves, but it was quite another to assume that their rights existed in fact. Accordingly, it was clear to many scholars that before the Tannenbaum-Elkins conclusions could be fully embraced, their assumptions and conclusions would have to be tested against the evidence on treatment uncovered by a series of case studies of Latin American slavery.

Regrettably, however, much methodological fuzziness has surrounded the question of the meaning of "treatment" as applied to slavery. In a pathbreaking essay published in 1969, Eugene Genovese brought some clarity to the definition of "treatment" as used in the context of a master's conduct toward his slaves by suggesting that there were three basic meanings of the word (6).

First, treatment might mean the day-to-day living conditions of the slaves: diet, clothing, housing, duration of the working day, and the general conditions under which

they labored. Second, according to Genovese, treatment might also mean the overall conditions of the slaves' life; for example, the degree to which they were allowed to marry and maintain families, their opportunities for religious expression, and the extent to which they were able to function as autonomous human beings. And finally, treatment could encompass the opportunities that existed for slaves to obtain their freedom and their chances of becoming citizens with equal rights within the larger society. It is clear that historians can only avoid confusion by delineating precisely the sense in which they are using the word "treatment." It is equally important that historians eschew broad generalizations that cover entire regions and cultures; after all, the nature of the treatment accorded the slaves varied in both time and place.

Recent studies of early slave holding societies demonstrate that one of the most important determinants of the treatment of slaves was not the legal and institutional framework within which slavery existed but, rather, the economic role the slaves performed and the degree to which the enterprises in which they worked were capitalistic. The more highly capitalized an industry became, the greater the demands placed on the labor resources of the slaves and the more oppressive their condition. The high mortality rate of the slave populations was one measure of the harshness of their day-to-day existence. Frederick Bowser has concluded that for Peru during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries "poor diet and living conditions, combined with hard labor assured many blacks an early grave." Early colonial Mexico, according to Barrett and myself, followed a similar pattern (7).

In spite of these preliminary findings, however, we have very little data on the physical aspects of the slaves' existence in the early Americas. Only scattered data exist on the diet of these people, their clothing, residential patterns, and diseases. We know next to nothing about their reproductive patterns as reflected in annual rates of increase or decrease. One measure of the everyday conditions of slavery may well be in the extent to which slaves fled or committed suicide to escape from their servitude. These problems, however, merit further examination in the Spanish societies before any firm conclusions can be drawn.

So far, we have examined the physical conditions of the slaves' life in early America, but what do we know of their possibilities for marriage and family life, for preserving their ancestral culture, and for pursuing an independent social life? It is not yet possible to give definitive answers to these questions, but the state of knowledge today is far better that it was when Tannenbaum wrote *Slave and Citizen* in 1946. Recent research has indicated that slaves in Latin America and the Caribbean preserved their African heritage to a far greater extent than their counterparts in North America. This success in retaining aspects of their culture was not due to any greater degree of benevolence or tolerance of the slave masters in these areas. The mortality rate of slaves in Latin America and the Caribbean coupled with a low birth rate fostered a greater dependence on Africa as a source for slaves. This dependence on imported slaves helped to ensure a constant and sustained transmission of African cultures to these societies.

Recent research suggests that Catholic officials in Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere tried to suppress African religious beliefs which they thought violated the precepts of the Church. In Mexico and Peru, the Holy Office of the Inquisition aided in the task of persecuting blacks whom it identified as witches and sorcerers. Generally speaking, the masters and the authorities tended to permit those practices that were perceived as not contrary to Catholic dogma or as posing a threat to the survival of slavery. Available evidence suggests that the more spiritual forms of black culture survived not as a result of benevolent concern and encouragement of the whites but in spite of their opposition. By retaining their own beliefs and by borrowing and reinterpreting certain European beliefs, the Africans were ensuring, albeit unconsciously, their survival as spiritually autonomous human beings (8).

The extent to which slaves in early colonial America were able to establish and lead a normal family life is uncertain. Few students of Latin America and Caribbean slavery have dealt in any significant way with the problem and none has produced as exhaustive a study as the one Herbert Gutman has done for the United States (9). Scattered discussions of the subject reveal, however, that the slaves experienced considerable difficulties in enjoying stable conjugal relationships. There was an imbalance in the ratio of the sexes in these societies because two-thirds of the slaves were male. In addition, the male slaves had to compete with white men for the affection of the available female slaves. Demographers have often pointed out that a greater sexual balance tends to occur in a population that changes through natural increase or decrease. But such a balance never seems to have developed in early America because of the higher mortality rate of the children and the consequent dependence on Africa to sustain the slave population.

Although family life seemed precarious at best, there were no laws that blocked

By retaining their own beliefs and by borrowing and reinterpreting certain European beliefs, the Africans were ensuring their survival as spiritually autonomous human beings.

the path to liberation. It is now generally recognized, however, that slaves in Spanish America and Brazil did not obtain their freedom as easily as earlier scholars like Tannenbaum seemed to argue. There were three principal means by which a slave could be legally freed, as Bowser, Schwartz, and myself have discussed (10). A slave could be manumitted by his master or the state; he could purchase his own freedom or have it purchased in his behalf; and finally, some masters freed at birth their children born of slave women. These incidences of liberation, with the exception of that conferred by the state—depended primarily upon the disposition of the master since normally he could not be forced to manumit his property. Recent findings seem to indicate that the sick, the elderly, the masters' mistresses and their progeny were the individuals most likely to receive their freedom (11). In the light of such findings, the view that manumission in Spanish America and Brazil stemmed from humanitarian ideals needs careful reexamination. An imaginative use of the data contained in wills and notarial records will help provide answers to questions concerning the individuals most likely to be freed, and the ease and frequency of such manumissions.

In spite of the progress we have noted, large gaps still remain in the historiography of slavery in early America. There is, for example, no published study of urban slavery in any of those societies where the institution existed. Studies of urban experiences of the slaves should add enormously to our understanding of the dynamics of slavery in areas, such as households, where commercial specialization was not and could not be practiced. These studies will also provide an opportunity to test the prevailing assumption that urban slaves in general had an easier life than their rural peers.

As was indicated earlier, we still lack a detailed analysis of black family patterns in the early colonial societies. Nor do we have any sustained analyses of the social organizations and belief systems of the slaves and of the ethos of the societies they created. Such studies are needed if we are to fully understand the nature and meaning of the coping mechanisms that they created throughout the Americas.

Some recent studies suggest that scholars have begun to deemphasize the comparative focus on the study of early American slavery. This is commendable because the study of slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean is in its formative stage and we do not yet know enough about its practice and evolution in most of these societies to make meaningful comparisons with North America. Such comparisons, based as they often are on inadequate data, may tend to mislead rather than produce insightful generalizations that can be sustained. One must also question the value of placing all of Latin American and the Caribbean within a unitary and sometimes static slave system. Slavery, wherever it existed was never a place, and a whole complex of other factors such as the personality of the masters, the social and political institutions and the stage of economic development of the society in which it existed. It is to be hoped that future scholarship will be more slave centered and concerned with the crucial question of how black men and women ordered their lives and coped with the reality of being the property of other people. ❑

Endnotes

1. Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969) p. 87.
2. Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispano-America y el comericio de escalvos: Los Asientos Portugueses* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano Americanos, 1977) and Colin A. Palmer, *Human Cargoes, The British Slave Trade to Spanish America 1700-1739* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1981).
3. Frederick Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), Colin A. Palmer, *Slaves of the White God: Blacks in Mexico, 1570-1650* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1976).
4. Franklin Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba During the Nineteenth Century* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970); Gwendolyn Hall, *Social Control in Slave Plantation Societies: A Comparison of St. Dominique and Cuba* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1971).
5. Stanley Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958); Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (New York: Vintage Books, 1946).
6. Eugene D. Genovese, "The treatment of slaves in different countries: problems in the application of the comparative method," in *Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative History*, eds. Laura Foner and Eugene d. Genovese, (Englewood Cliffs, 1969), 202-210.
7. Bowser, *The African Slave*, 254-272; Edgar F. Love, *Slaves of the White God*; Ward Barrett, *The Sugar Hacienda of the Marqueses del Valle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1970).
8. For a discussion of this, see Palmer, *Slaves of the White God*, 145-166.
9. Herbert Gutman, *The Black Family In Slavery and Freedom 1750-1925*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976).
10. Bowser, *The African Slave*, 272; Edgar F. Love, "Marriage patterns of persons of African descent in a colonial Mexico City Parish," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, LI: 1 (February 1971), 79-91.
11. Palmer, *Slaves of the White God*, 172-176; Bowser, *The African Slave*, 272-301. A useful discussion of Colonial Brazil may be found in Stuart Schwartz, "The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil: Bahia 1684-1745," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, LIV: 4 (November 1974), 603-635.

Colin Palmer is professor of history and chair of the History Department at the University of North Carolina.

The Seeds of Change

Herman J. Viola

Little could Christopher Columbus realize upon reaching America's shores in 1492 that he was about to set in motion processes of encounter and exchange that would dramatically alter life in both the New and Old Worlds. Indeed, who could have foretold that, as a consequence of the tiny flotilla's voyage, Africans would one day become the dominant ethnic group in the Caribbean, that New World foods such as potatoes and corn would become major crops in Asia, or that tomatoes would transform cuisine in Europe? Nonetheless, Columbus began a process of change that eventually altered the world's flora and fauna, reordered the ethnic composition of entire countries, and changed the diet and health of peoples everywhere.

This fascinating story is the subject of "Seeds of Change," the quincentenary exhibition of the National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian Institution. Scheduled to open in Washington 12 October 1991 (and to travel broadly thereafter), the exhibition will demonstrate that the New World underwent rapid and profound transformations because of certain "seeds of change" that the Europeans introduced, sometimes deliberately, sometimes accidentally.

Columbus and those who followed gave little thought to the impact of their actions as they sought to carve empires out of what seemed to be an unclaimed Garden of Eden. In fact, not until quite recently have the consequences of the changes wrought by the New World's early visitors been fully understood. We now know what occurs when the interrelationships among plants, animals, and the forces of nature are disturbed.

First to be affected by the Columbus voyages were the native peoples of the Americas. How unfortunate that almost five centuries had to pass before the rich and diverse cultures of the indigenous peoples of North and South America could be appreciated and accepted by the European intruders. Few Europeans ever realized that Columbus had not found a "new" world but a previously "unknown" world—one long populated by numerous and diverse peoples with cultures as distinct, vibrant, and worthy as any to be found in Europe or elsewhere on the planet. Indeed, just a few miles distant from his first landfall were the empires of the Mayas and Aztecs, often referred to as the Greeks and Romans of the Western Hemisphere. Their ancestors were laying the foundations of their empires around 2800 B.C., about the time the Old Kingdom pharaohs of Egypt were building the great pyramids. Sadly, the Europeans regarded the peoples whom they encountered in the Americas more as natural objects—another form of fauna to be discovered and exploited—rather than as human beings with histories as rich and ancient as their own. They could not imagine that these people could offer anything of aesthetic or cultural value.

Not until quite recently have the consequences of the changes wrought by the New World's early visitors been fully understood.

Consider, for example, what occurred on the island of Hispaniola, where Columbus established Santo Domingo, the first permanent European colony in the New World. In neither Haiti nor the Dominican Republic, who share this island today, are there any descendants of the original Indian inhabitants. They had disappeared by 1600. Although no one knows what their numbers were in 1492, current estimates range from sixty thousand to as many as eight million. Columbus himself remarked that "Indians of this island . . . are its riches, for it is they who dig and produce the bread and other food for the Christians and get gold from the mines . . . and perform all the services and labor of men and of draft animals."

If Columbus believed the Indians were the island's riches, he did little to protect Spain's fortune. Bartolome de las Casas, the Dominican friar and polemicist, whose father and uncle had come with Columbus

John Carter Brown Library, Brown University

As this image by Theodore de Bry illustrates, the Americas were filled with an abundance of natural wealth and resources before the European discovery.

to Hispaniola in 1493, believed that three million native peoples had perished after little more than a decade of contact with the Europeans—the result of disease, warfare, forced labor, and enslavement. "Who of those in future centuries will believe this?" he asked. "I myself who am writing this and saw it and know the most about it can hardly believe that such was possible."

Little wonder that some American Indians plan to wear black arm bands in 1992 or that there is rising support for a national day of mourning to honor all the Indians who died as a result of the arrival of the Europeans. Most Indians echo the sentiment of George P. Horse Capture, an advisor to the "Seeds of Change" exhibit: "For America's Indians, 1992 means that we will have survived as a people for 500 years."

About the only benefit the native Americans received from Europe was the horse. It is one gift from the Old World that many tribes came to embrace and cherish. At first amazed by these strange creatures, the Indians of North and South America eventually became some of the finest riders the world has known. Even today, members of many North American tribes regard the horse as a vital part of their culture.

Another tragedy of 1492 was the failure of Europeans to recognize the fragility of the American environment. They set to work despoiling the resources of the New World as quickly as they began destroying its peoples. What had taken nature thousands of centuries to create was largely undone in less than five years, beginning in September 1493, when the Admiral of the Ocean Seas returned to America at the head of an armada of seventeen ships. These ships disgorged on Hispaniola some fifteen hundred would-be empire builders and a Noah's Ark of Old World animals and plants including horses, cows, pigs, wheat, barley, and shoots of sugarcane which next to disease, was perhaps the most detrimental contribution of the Old World to the New.

Sugarcane merits censure because it harmed both man and the environment. With sugarcane came the plantation system and the initial assault on the tropical rain forests of the New World. Sugarcane was a labor-intensive crop that absorbed huge human resources, beyond what was needed for altering the landscape, to make large-scale production both possible and profitable. When there were no longer sufficient numbers of Indians to maintain the New World plantations, Europeans turned to Africa for their labor force. The exact number of Africans kidnapped and sold into New World slavery will never be known, but the estimates range from ten to thirty million. Because of sugar, therefore, the landscape of the Caribbean was transformed—Africans replaced Indians as the dominant ethnic group on many Caribbean islands, and the populations of Africa were irreversibly altered.

The continuing influence of Columbus's voyages is also an important part of the "Seeds of Change" story. The Columbian legacy is apparent in the continuing destruction of the rain forests at the rate of thirty-five acres a minute. Today, many people realize that the rain forests are not inexhaustible, as the conquistadors and later the sugar planters thought them to be—if they thought of them at all. More and more people consider the rain forests treasures, essential to all aspects of human welfare. Not only are rain forests a major influence on the world's climate but they shelter plant and animal species unknown to science. This flora could, for example, contain potential cures for AIDS and cancer. The continued destruction of the rain forest is likened to the destruction of a vast library whose volumes remain unread and unappreciated because the languages in which they are written have not yet been translated.

In keeping with the enormity of its subject, the "Seeds of Change" exhibit will have many components. In addition to the main exhibition at the National Museum of Natural History, there will be collaborative versions of the exhibition in at least eight museums across the nation for two years (see accompanying itinerary). Complementing the exhibition in all its formats will be: activity books and teacher's guides for fifth and eighth grade classes, developed by the National Council for the Social Studies; reading programs for adults sponsored by the American Library Association; and, of course, the National History Day competition for 1991-92 with its theme, "Discovery, Encounter, Exchange in History: The Seeds of Change." ❑

Herman J. Viola is director of the Quincentenary Programs at the National Museum of Natural History, Washington, D.C.

Exhibition Itinerary

Host Institution	Display Period (tentative)
Academy of Natural Science, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	October, 1992 to February, 1993
American Quarter Horse Heritage Center and Museum, Amarillo, Texas	May 16, 1992 to January 3, 1993
The Brevard Museum, Cocoa, Florida	February 15, 1992 to January 17, 1993
Fernbank Museum of Natural History, Atlanta, Georgia	January to March, 1993
Missouri Cultural Heritage Center, Columbia, Missouri	May to Autumn, 1992
Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, California	June to October, 1992
Witte Museum, San Antonio, Texas	October 12, 1992 to August 1993

Panel Version

Alabama, Birmingham Public Library
April 11 to May 10, 1992

Alaska, Anchorage Municipal Libraries
January 4 to February 2, 1992

Arizona, Phoenix Public Library
December 12, 1992 to January 10, 1993

Arkansas, State Capitol Building
September 5 to October 4, 1992

California, Los Angeles Public Library
September 5 to October 4, 1992

California,Sacramento Public Library
May 30 to June 28, 1992

California, San Francisco Public Library
July 18 to August 16, 1992

Connecticut, Hartford, Old State House
June 26 to July 25, 1993

Colorado, Denver Public Library
October 2 to October 31, 1993

Delaware, Wilmington Library
January 30 to February 28, 1993

District of Columbia, D.C. Public Library
March 20 to April 18, 1993.

Florida, Broward County Main Library
February 22 to March 22, 1992

Florida, Miami-Dade Public Libraries
January 4 to February 2, 1992

Georgia, Atlantic/Fulton County Library
May 30 to June 28, 1992

Hawaii, Hawaii State Library System
October 24 to November 11, 1992

Idaho, Boise Public Library
May 8 to June 6, 1993

Illinois, Chicago, Sulzer Regional Library
October 2 to October 31, 1993

Indiana, Indianapolis/Marion County Library
November 20 to December 16, 1993

Iowa, Public Library of Des Moines
August 8 to June 6, 1993

Kansas, Kansas City, West Wyandotte Library
May 30 to June 28, 1992

Kentucky, Louisville Free Public Library
August 14 to September 12, 1993

Louisiana, New Orleans Public Library
October 24 to November 22, 1992

Maine, Portland Public Library
January 4 to February 2, 1992

Maryland, Baltimore, Enoch Pratt Free Library
May 8 to June 6, 1993

Massachusetts, Boston Public Library
May 30 to June 28, 1992

Michigan, Detroit Public Library
May 8 to June 6, 1993

Minnesota, Minneapolis Public Library
June 26 to July 25, 1993

Mississippi, Warren County/Vicksburg Library
November 20 to December 16, 1993

Missouri, St. Louis Public Library
July 18 to August 16, 1992

Montana, Parmly Billings Library
June 26 to July 25, 1993

Nebraska, Omaha Public Library
April 11 to May 10, 1992

Nevada, Reno,Washoe County Library
March 20 to April 18, 1993

New Hampshire, Derry Public Library
February 22 to March 22, 1992

New Jersey, Manalapan, Monmouth County Library
June 26 to July 25, 1993

New Mexico, Albuquerque Public Library
November 20 to December 16, 1993

New York, Buffalo and Erie County Public Library
October 24 to November 22, 1992

New York, Queens Borough Public Library
December 12, 1992 to January 10, 1993

North Carolina, Charlotte/Mecklenburg Public Library
September 5 to October 4, 1992

North Dakota, Bismarck, State Historical Society
January 4 to February 2, 1992

Ohio, Columbus Metropolitan Library
July 18 to August 16, 1992

Oklahoma, Oklahoma City, Metropolitan Library System
March 20 to April 18, 1993

Oregon, Salem, Oregon State Library
April 11 to May 10, 1992

Pennsylvania, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh
March 20 to April 18, 1993

Rhode Island, Providence Public Library
September 5 to October 4, 1992

South Carolina, Georgetown County Library
July 18 to August 16, 1992

South Dakota, Rapid City Public Library
February 22 to March 22, 1992

Tennessee, Knoxville, Knox County Public Library
October 2 to October 31, 1993

Texas, Dallas Public Library
January 30 to February 28, 1993

Texas,Houston Public Library
December 12 to January 10, 1993

Utah, Salt Lake City Public Library
January 30 to February 28, 1993

Vermont, Vermont Department of Libraries
April 11 to May 10, 1992

Virginia, Richmond, Virginia State Libraries
October 24 to November 22, 1992

Virgin Islands, Frederiksted, Fort Frederik Museum
October 2 to October 31, 1993

Washington, Seattle Public Library
February 22 to March 22, 1992

West Virginia, West Virginia Library Commission
December 12, 1992 to January 10, 1993

Wisconsin, Milwaukee Public Library
August 14 to September 12, 1993

Wyoming, Laramie County Library System
August 14 to September 12, 1993

The Columbian Voyages in Historical Perspective

Louis R. Harlan

In 1893, when Chicago celebrated the four-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's discovery of the New World, it did so through a world's fair and a glorification of the progress of Western Civilization since that fateful voyage across the Atlantic. As late as the 450th anniversary, disrupted by World War II, the maritime historian Samuel Eliot Morison, himself an admiral and a Harvard professor, presented Columbus brilliantly as the hero of the greatest sea venture in history. According to Morison, Columbus was a man whose knowledge of the sea winds and currents, grasp of the latest navigational and shipbuilding technology, courage and tenacity, achieved what until then was impossible, and brought back to Spain and gradually to the rest of western Europe the prize of two continents hitherto unknown to Europeans. Though Morison gave what seemed to western scholars due attention to the immediate exploitation of the labor and lives of the New World inhabitants, his central theme was the Columbian voyages as a triumph of Europe's virtues and modernization and as the prelude to the expansion of Europe to global dominance.

Lilly Library, *Illustrated Guide to the World's Fair, 1893*

Professional historians today are more inclined than in the past to find in the Columbian confrontation with the New World an example of a much more complex process of cause and effect. While acknowledging the European triumph that the voyages of discovery represented, they also find darker, sometimes unforeseen consequences of the confrontation. This issue of the *Magazine of History* is an attempt of its sponsor, the OAH, to offer to teachers and students a more perspectival view of the meaning of the Columbian voyages. The "glory; God and gold" that motivated the European conquest that followed Columbus had its seamy side in the arrogance of European power, the destruction of native cultures in the name of religion, and the greed that consumed the resources and the lives of native Americans. Then there is the unforeseen transmission of disease for which populations had not developed immunity through earlier exposure.

The quincentenary offers all of us who are heirs of the Columbian confrontation the opportunity to reassess both the good and the regrettable consequences of this cultural and physical encounter. We can see the voyages as a boon to scientific knowledge, a key step in the development of world trade, and at the same time an ecological disaster. The quincentenary also provides a long overdue opportunity to acknowledge the role of India, of Islam, and of the Iberian Jews who had used the comparative tolerance of Muslim Spain to develop the scientific know-how and geographical lore that underlay Columbus's venture. ❑

Louis R. Harlan is distinguished professor of history at the University of Maryland and the only historian to serve concurrently as the president of the OAH, the American Historical Association, and the Southern Historical Association. In these positions, he encouraged greater cooperation and communication between individuals and organizations to produce the new National History Education Network.

Mary Ann Barnard

A Year Long Voyage of Investigation

Rationale

The events of October 1492 united four continents in a web of complex and, in many cases, disastrous relationships. Those who have benefitted from the contact will celebrate and commemorate; those who have been harmed will be angry and hurt. Only by using the quincentenary year as an opportunity to carefully investigate the historic record of the past five hundred years can we justify such attention to the Columbian theme. During this year, we shall challenge the notion of "incontrovertible" history and through this inquiry we shall discover other perspectives on events which we in the United States have considered the "truth" about our history. We may, for instance, come to understand the truly global aspects of our past thereby learning to value the countless contributors to our multi-cultural society.

Themes

1. "What's your bias?" Objective history may not exist. Even primary sources must be challenged and examined carefully for the beliefs and values of the writer. We must also understand our own frame of reference, our own values and beliefs, as interpreters of the past.

2. "Watch your language! Words are loaded guns." Language provides a powerful tool for historians. To investigate the legacy of Columbus, we must carefully evaluate the source's meanings, as well as our own concepts of words such as "civilization," as contrasted to concepts such as "savagery," "barbarism," or "conquest"; also, "invasion," and "imposition." We might, furthermore, consider the notion of "discovery" as opposed to the revelation of what already exists.

3. "Hail the Conquering Hero!" Humans value the concept of "hero." We must question why and how humans create heroes, whom they choose, and how they use them. Columbus and other conquerors, as well as others who revere them, deserve study.

4. "R-E-S-P-E-C-T: Find Out What It Means to Me." Respect results from understanding and appreciating the values and beliefs of others, as expressed through their culture, even if it differs from one's own. Different does not mean inferior, and must never be used to justify discrimination, subjugation, or destruction. From this perspective, we need to study all the peoples involved in the Columbian enterprise and its enduring aftermath.

5. "Who's the Boss? Does Might make Right?" The concepts of conversion, acculturation, and assimilation can only be studied in conjunction with a survey of the dominant groups who have claimed the "natural rights" of assumed superiors over perceived inferiors.

6. "The Price of Progress: Is the Past our Future?" Traditional concepts of the philosophical and technical triumph of Euro-centric civilization must be investigated.

Procedures

A. Schoolwide

1. Have every student in the school read from a selection of quincentenary titles during the summer.
2. At a parents' meeting and at a separate faculty meeting, detail the total program so that the entire school environment will be involved.
3. In a pre-registration mailing, include the attached, anonymous "Values Survey" and "Ancestral Survey" to be turned in on the first day of school. The surveys are to be in duplicate; one to be kept by the student for future reference in classes during the year, and one to be recorded statistically for a school-wide profile. The Ancestral Survey results will be charted on a world map in the display case of the school's main corridor. School profiles of the Values Survey, as well as volunteered, individuals surveys, will be used in the classroom units as springboards for carrying out the program.
4. Use hall bulletin boards and display cases with information related to the themes.
5. Work with the school librarians and media specialists to gather and display all materials connected to the themes and to have them on reserve for students and faculty.

B. Social Studies/History Classrooms

1. Before beginning the year-long study, have students employ the "Values Survey Sheet" (see page 38) to analyze themselves, their parents, and their grandparents regarding those values and opinions which essentially shape our lives.
2. Depending on the course and the students' grade level,

teachers or students themselves may choose aspects of the theme. For example, a course in World History might focus on "Columbus: Heir of the Renaissance or Champion of the Medieval World View?" The class would, therefore, investigate all the values that shaped Columbus into the person he was. Or the class might consider the meaning of such terms as "civilization," "conquest," "domination," "conversion," "enslavement," "acculturation," and "assimilation," within the context of the several differing cultures involved in the contacts of 1492.

A United States history course, for example, could study the early contact period with reference to the peoples presently living in the areas conquered and colonized by Spain. They might explore how the contact experience shaped those societies and, in turn, shaped United States foreign policy toward them. An economics class could investigate Western European economies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries or the effect these expeditions had on the development of capitalism and mercantilism. A civics or government class might compare some of the leadership structures of the indigenous peoples first encountered by the Europeans in the Americas, as well as the colonial governmental patterns which succeeded them.

3. In class lectures, presentations, and in all study of primary and secondary sources, teachers should encourage students to be aware of the frame of reference of the writers, encouraging students to analyze and criticize materials under consideration. In this connection, the "Values Survey Sheet" may prove to be a very useful teaching instrument.
4. Because interpretation is so important to these subjects, teachers may include a unit on research skills in the course outline.

C. **Intra-departmental Coordination.** Interested teachers in other disciplines should be encouraged to relate their subject matter to the Columbian theme. Some potential allies are:

1. Mathematics—Perhaps a mathematical investigation of Columbus's calculations of his whereabouts or, more generally, the mathematical skills of navigators of the 1492 epoch.
2. Natural Sciences—The Columbian voyages could be considered within the context of the emerging sciences of the period. Biology classes could be especially enlivened by studying the ecological consequences of the contact in 1492 of two previously separate biotas.
3. Literature—Classes might focus on literary masterpieces of the Renaissance or works of the period that express early European conceptions of "The New World" and colonization. Another rich vein is the literature of those indigenous peoples who suddenly found themselves in continuing contact with the Westerners.
4. Language—Teachers, especially Spanish teachers, may find the Columbian theme an especially useful means of exploring the Hispanic cultures that resulted from the early contact period.
5. Religion—In religiously-affiliated schools, religion classes might productively consider some of the moral and ethical questions which flow inevitably from study of the initial encounters of Western and non-Western peoples.

D. National History Day Projects

1. The National History Day theme for the 1991-92 session will be "Discovery, Encounter, Exchange in History: The Seeds of Change." Student participation in this competition, whether for credit or not, provides a unique opportunity for teachers to involve students in an exploration of the nature of history and the social studies. The competition includes students from grades six through twelve and challenges them to submit their own research in any one of several forms, such as: historical essays, media projects, displays, and even performances. Contest guidelines may by obtained by contacting: National History Day, 11201 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44106, 216-421-8803.
2. In many instances, a student project might cross disciplines and arrangements should be made in advance with faculty colleagues if the student is seeking a grade for the endeavor.
3. Each social studies or history class submits its best projects to the History Day competition for schoolwide recognition. Instructions for establishing the contest in your school can be found in National History Day's competition guidelines.
4. The schoolwide contest can be conducted simply as a National History Day event or a Columbian Fair which might be open to parents and the community.
5. Winners of the contest at your school should be encouraged in every way to continue in the competition at the regional level. Many systems or institutions allocate funds to insure that participating students gain broad recognition for their work.

Mary Ann Barnard teaches at Archmere Academy in Claymont, Delaware.

Values Survey Sheet

General Instructions: Please complete this survey in duplicate. Keep one copy for your own reference to be used in your history or social studies class during the course of the year. The other copy is to be turned in on the first day of classes to the Main Office. Do not put your name on this duplicate sheet since we are seeking a school profile and wish to treat your contribution in confidence. Please complete as much of the survey as you are able.

POLITICAL VALUES: (party affiliations, voting, support of the present electoral process)

How do you differ, if at all, on political values and beliefs from your (check one)

PARENTS	GRANDPARENTS
_same	_same
_slightly different	_slightly different
_very different	_very different

Why do you think this is so?

MONEY VALUES: (source of money, purpose of money, distribution of wealth)

How do your values and beliefs differ, if at all, on money issues from your (check one)

PARENTS	GRANDPARENTS
_same	_same
_slightly different	_slightly different
_very different	_very different

Why do you think this is so?

SOCIAL VALUES: (social status, discrimination)

How do you differ, if at all, on social values from your (check one)

PARENTS	GRANDPARENTS
_same	_same
_slightly different	_slightly different
_very different	_very different

Why is this so?

INTELLECTUAL VALUES: (meaning of education, types of education)

How do you differ, it at all, on intellectual values from your (check one)

PARENTS	GRANDPARENTS
_same	_same
_slightly different	_slightly different
_very different	_very different

Why is this so?

CULTURAL VALUES: (ethnic background, cultural expressions of practical and fine arts)

How do you differ, it at all, on cultural values from your (check one)

PARENTS	GRANDPARENTS
_same	_same
_slightly different	_slightly different
_very different	_very different

Why is this so?

Ancestral Survey

Please fill in the appropriate information in duplicate. One copy should be retained for use during the year by your history or social studies class, while the duplicate should be submitted to your school's Main Office on the first day of classes.

The United States has been populated for over four centuries by peoples from the entire world. We ask you to list the area/country or nation from which your ancestors came to the United States and note the century in which they arrived. Each student may claim up to four ancestral homes. Please make certain, however, that students note their native American heritage, if any.

Original Nationality	**Approximate Time of Arrival (Closest Century)**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Note: Materials meant for teachers only, or for very advanced or gifted students, are noted by (*).

Atlas of American History. 2d rev. ed. New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1984.

*Banks, James A. ed. *Teaching Ethnic Studies: Concepts and Strategies*. 43rd. ed. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1973.

*Bigelow, William. "Discovering Columbus: Rereading the Past." *Language Arts* (October, 1989).

*Bitterli, Urs. *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters Between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492-1800*. Stanford University Press, 1989.

Blaine, James G. "The Progress and Development of the Western World." In *Columbus and Columbia*. Philadelphia: Historical Publishing Company, 1892.

*Boxer, Charles. *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825*. New York: Alfred Knopf, Inc., 1969.

Brown, James A. "America before Columbus." In *Indians in American History: An Introduction*, edited by Frederick E. Hoxie. Harlan Davidson, 1988.

Butterworth, Benjamin. "Scope and Purpose of the World's Fair" and "Purposes and Effects of International Fairs." In *Columbus and Columbia*. Philadelphia: Historical Publishing Company, 1892.

Campbell, Tony. *Early Maps*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1981.

Chiapelli, Fredi, *et. al.* eds. *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, Vol. 1. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.

A Columbus Casebook. Washington, D. C.: National Geographic Society, 1986.

Crosby, Alfred W. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1972.

*---. *The Columbian Voyages: The Columbian Exchange, and Their Historians*. Washington, D. C.: American Historical Association, 1987.

Curtis, William. *Souvenir of La Rabida: World's Columbian Exposition* (1983).

De Vorsey, Louis. "The New Land: The Discovery and Exploration of Eastern North America." In *North America: The Historical Geography of a Changing Continent*, edited by Robert D. Mitchell and Paul A. Groves. Towota, N.J.: Roman & Littlefield, 1987.

Diaz del Castillo, Bernal. *Cortez and the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards in 1521*. Hamden, Connecticut: Linnet Books, 1988.

Driver, Harold E. *Indians of North America*, 2d ed. rev. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

Duff, Charles. *The Truth About Columbus and the Discovery of America*. London: Jarrolds, 1957.

Fitzhugh, William, ed. *Cultures in Contact: The Impact of European Contacts on Native American Cultural Institutions, A.D. 1000-1800*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985.

*Gibson, Charles. *Spain in America*. New York: Harper & Row, 1966.

Granzotto, Gianni. *Christopher Columbus: The Dream and the Obsession*. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1985.

*Jennings, Francis. *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975).

Keen, Benjamin and Mark Wasserman. "Ancient America." In *A Short History of Latin America*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980.

Klein, Herbert S. "Patterns of Settlement of the Afro-American Population in the New World." In *Key issues in the Afro-American Experience*, edited by Nathan I. Huggins, Martin Kilson, and Daniel M. Fox. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971.

Leon-Portilla, Miguel, ed. *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1962.

Lockert, James, and Enrique Otte, eds. *Letters and People in the Spanish Indies, Sixteenth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

McCarthy, Charles H. *Columbus and his Predecessors: A Study in the Beginnings of American History*. Philadelphia: Joseph McVey, 1912.

*Meinig, D. W. *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on Five Hundred Years of History*, Vol. 1. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.

Miller, Theodore. *Graphic History of the Americas*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1969.

Morison, Samuel Eliot. *Christopher Columbus, Mariner*. New York: New American Library, 1956.

*---. *Admiral of the Ocean Sea, A Life of Christopher Columbus*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1942.

Natella, Arthur A., Jr. *The Spanish in America, 1513-1974*. Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publications, 1975.

Newby, Eric, ed. *The Rand McNally World Atlas of Exploration*. New York: Rand McNally, 1975.

*Pagden, Anthony. *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Poma, Huaman. *Letter to a King: A Peruvian Chief's Account of Life under the Incas and under Spanish Rule*. Edited by Christopher Dike. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1978.

Quinn, David, ed. *The New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, Vol. 1. New York: Arno Press, 1979.

---. *North America from the Earliest Discovery to First Settlements: The Norse Voyages to 1612*. New York: Harper & Row, 1977.

Tedlock, Dennis, trans. *Popol-Vuh: The Definitive Edition of the Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985.

*Tedlock, Dennis and Barbara Tedlock, eds. *Teachings from the American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy*. New York: Liveright, 1975.

Thatcher, John Boyd. *Christopher Columbus: His Life, His Work, His Remains*. New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1904.

Zinn, Howard. *A People's History of the United States*. New York: Harper & Row, 1980.

An Examination of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition

As we approach the Columbian Quincentenary, it is instructive to look back with students at the significant American cultural event that marked the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus's first voyage, the 1893 observances and the Chicago's World Fair of that year. This lesson is appropriate for American history or American studies students.

Introduction

At a cost of more that $28,000,000 the city of Chicago hosted the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. Forty-seven nations were represented with a variety of pavilions that boasted 65,000 exhibits. When the Chicago Fair closed, more than 21 million people had passed through its turnstiles. Its purpose had been not only to celebrate Columbus's initial voyage but to showcase the technology, inventiveness, and culture of the United States.

Lesson Objectives

At the conclusion of this lesson, students should demonstrate some ability to:

1. Recognize the connection between the past and the present.
2. Understand the significance of the observance of Columbus Day.
3. Use photographs as a primary source for identification purposes.
4. Note the relationship between architecture and a particular period in the nation's history.
5. Assess how this nation chooses to celebrate its heroes and historical events.

Background

There were two centerpieces to the Exposition: the "Great White Way" and the "Midway." The former featured exhibit halls designed by the foremost United States architects of the period (Richard M. Hunt, Charles F. McKim, Standford White, Louis Sullivan) and their designs were adorned by the works of the leading American sculptors (Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Daniel C. French, Frederick MacMonnies, Edward Kemeys). The Midway's attractions included the belly dancer "Little Egypt," eateries, rides, and George W. Ferris's "Ferris Wheel," the first one ever.

The responsibilities for the overall supervision and planning of the 1893 Fair fell to Chicago architect Daniel Burnham. Augustus Saint-Gaudens is reported to have said that one of Burnham's planning sessions for the Exposition constituted the greatest meeting of artistic minds since the Renaissance.

The World's Columbian Exposition opened to the general public on 1 May 1893, and would close at the end of October. Its magnificent buildings and other structures were intended to be temporary and were composed of iron and timber covered with a degradable material called "staff"—a combination of plaster, cement, and jute fibers.

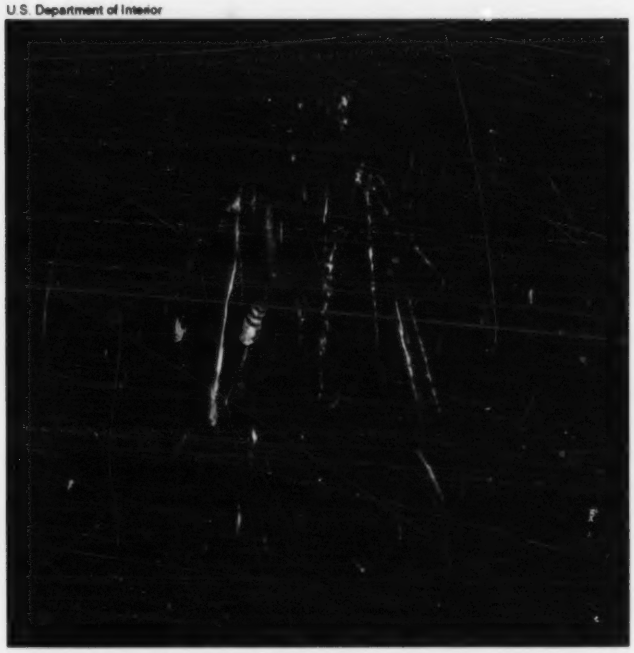
Lesson Procedures

Note: This one-period lesson plan might be best presented on the Friday before the Columbus holiday. Slides for the activity are available in the "American History Slide Collection" (see bibliography). Instructors may also wish to use an Ektagraphic photo stand to duplicate some of the illustrations found in the works cited in the bibliography where an asterisk indicates rich resources for this topic.

1. Inform students that, in light of Monday's holiday, the class will depart for the normal routine to examine an event relevant to the voyages of Christopher Columbus.
2. Ask students if they have heard of the 1893 Columbian Exposition. It may safely be assumed that the vast majority have not; therefore, engage them in probing their comprehension of such terms has "exposition," "pavilion," and "World's Fair." Some may have attended a recent fair and their recollections might prove invaluable to the class.
3. Advise students that they will view a series of slides or photographs documenting the Columbian Exposition of 1893.
4. As the images are shown, discuss the impact of the Exposition as a major cultural event in late nineteenth-century America. Information needs to be disseminated to the class about how this monumental event might be viewed as the apex of the "Gilded Age," and how it served as a showcase for American technology and culture.

The instructor should, if possible, convey a variety of anecdotes related to the Fair. For example, the teacher might discuss

U.S. Department of Interior



Augustus Saint-Gaudens designed this copper medal to commemorate the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

how Chicago was selected to host the event over such rivals as New York and Washington, D.C. The city's nickname, "the Windy City," is alleged to have been earned by its boasting in this competition.

The presentation should be grounded in slides or photos of such Exposition highlights as "The Great White Way," Hunt's Administration Building, MacMonnies' Columbian Fountain, the Midway, and of course, the original Ferris Wheel. Students will be interested to learn that it took Ferris' wheel nearly half an hour to complete a full circle and that it was easily the most popular attraction at the Columbian Exposition.

At the conclusion of the presentation, show how the Exposition grounds appeared several months after the "staff" had collapsed and the fairgrounds had been leveled. In addition, the instructor should repeatedly note the purposes of the exhibition halls, as well as the significance of the Exposition's "Beaux-Arts" architecture (see especially R. Reid Badger's *The Great American Fair*).

Follow-Up Discussion Questions

1. Does it seem that the celebration embodied in the Columbian Exposition of 1893 was in proportion to the event it was observing?
2. Would the students have attended the Fair (in 1893) had they had the chance?
3. What did the Exposition planners have in mind when they selected "Beaux-Arts" architecture?
4. How might they compare the Exposition's architectural style with that employed at such contemporary centers as Disneyland or Epcot Center?
5. What do they think about the fact that the 1893 Fair lasted only a few months in spite of the vast investment involved?
6. Were they to have served on the Columbian Quincentenary Jubilee Commission which formulated the United States' plans for observing the five hundredth anniversary of Columbus's first voyage, what themes might they have explored and what permanent monuments would they have created?
7. How does the class imagine that the 1992 Quincentenary will be observed in this country? How about elsewhere across the globe? How will it differ from the celebration of 1892-93?

Bibliography

* "American History Slide Collection." Annapolis: Instructional Resources Corporation, 1977.
* Appelbaum, Stanely. *The Chicago World's Fair of 1893: A Photographic Record.* New York: Dover Publications, 1980.
* Badger, R. Reid. *The Great American Fair: The World's Columbian Exposition and American Culture.* Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1979.
* Brooklyn Museum. *The American Renaissance, 1876-1917.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1979.

Jones, Howard M. *The Age of Energy: Varieties of the American Experience, 1865-1915.* New York: Viking Press, 1971.

Roth, Leland M. *A Concise History of American Architecture.* New York: Harper & Row, 1979.

Wilkinson, Burke. *Uncommon Clay: The Life and Works of Augustus Saint Gaudens.* San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985.

James A. Percoco teaches at West Springfield High School in Springfield, Virginia.

U.S. Department of Interior

On the main colonnade, the lagoon, the administrative building, and the figure of the Republic were built for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. These temporary structures were made of degradable material that could be easily torn down.

Before Oglethorpe: Hispanic and Indian Cultures in the Southeast United States

Introduction

Many of the materials employed in this lesson plan were developed by the participants in the 1990 NEH Summer Institute for College Teachers at the University of Georgia and refined by a subsequent NEH-funded institute for high school teachers. The lesson includes some preparatory activity on the students' part, a shared reading, suggested questions to be explored in classroom discussion, and a session utilizing maps.

Preparatory Activities

A. Employing the Hudson and Associates map published with this plan, a roadmap of the Southeastern United States, and a ruler, the teacher will demonstrate how to measure distances on a modern map. Students should familiarize themselves with the geography of the region.

B. Using a dictionary and/or encyclopedia, students should define the following words in preparation for the shared reading. The words appear below in the same sequence as they will appear in the reading, although teachers may choose to arrange them in alphabetical order, divide them up among groups of students, or present them in a list for individual students.

archeological
textual
indigenous
Antebellum
ethnocentric
ideology
Moundbuilders
Israelites
Carthaginian
Alexander the Great
Welshmen
Basques
Erich von Daniken
Thomas Jefferson
Hernando de Soto
ethnography
sociology
Huguenots
Enlightenment
heresy
Satanism
scribe

The Reading

Archeological and *textual* research has revealed profound changes in *indigenous* societies in the Southeast between the time of the arrival of the Spaniards and the much later appearance of the English in the region. A perennial question in the history of the Southeast has been how this transformation occurred? To *Antebellum* historians, it seemed obvious that the huge earthen mounds and ornate Indian artifacts which were discovered in the region could not have been created by the *indigenous* people living there in the nineteenth century. Because of the prevailing *ethnocentric* ideology of the day and its romantic idiom, the most popular explanation was that they had been raised by a different and superior race of people—the *Moundbuilders*—who had occupied the land prior to the coming of the Indians. The *Moundbuilders'* racial identity and place of origin varied from one theorist to another. Some maintained that the mounds of the Southeastern United States had been constructed by ancient *Israelites* who somehow had found their way to the region. Others insisted that *Carthaginians*, or the army of *Alexander the Great*, *Welshmen* or *Basques* had constructed the impressive works. In our own day, *Erich von Daniken's Chariots of the Gods* asserted that the mounds were the handiworks of creatures from outer space.

No less than *Thomas Jefferson* became involved in the issue. The author of the Declaration of Independence excavated an earthen mound found near his estate at Charlottesville, Virginia and, after examining its contents and strata, Jefferson concluded that it could have been constructed by Indians. His opinion was strongly seconded in 1873 by the pioneer archeologist, Charles Colcok Jones, Jr., when he published his *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*. Jones had read a translation of a first-hand chronicle of the *Hernando de Soto* expedition (1539-1543) to the Southeast and it was clear to the Spaniards' travels De Soto and his men had encountered large and powerful native American societies. This thesis was confirmed in 1891 with the publication of a monumental

report by the Bureau of American Ethnology, which concluded that the Southeastern mounds were the creations of the Indians themselves.

Who were these indigenous engineers and where were their communities located when the Spanish first stumbled upon them? Few, if any, of the sixteenth-century Spanish explorers were much interested in matters we today would label *ethnography* or *sociology*. Indeed, these fields were defined long after De Soto's celebrated march. Quite a number of the later French and English explorers do exhibit such interests. The records of the *Huguenots* who attempted to establish a colony at the mouth of the St. John's River in Florida, for example, reveal their curiosity about the indigenous people they encountered there. This interest is even more evident in the documents of French and English observers in the late seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century. Under the influence of the *Enlightenment*, they became aware that people could differ rather fundamentally from Europeans in how they thought or lived without being guilty of *heresy* or *Satanism*, as had been suspected earlier.

The only first-hand observers of the indigenous population of the Southeastern interior in the sixteenth century were, nevertheless, the Spaniards. They left us very little in the way of written observation of the customs and cultures they found. Consequently, most of our present understanding is based upon the work of archaeologists over the past fifty years, especially the most recent fifteen years.

It was during the 1979-80 academic year that Charles Hudson, professor of anthropology and history at the University of Georgia, began collaborating with archaeologists Marvin Smith and Chester DePratter in an attempt to determine the route of the DeSoto expedition. They quickly discovered that, if they relied solely on the Spanish narratives of the venture, it was possible to place the expedition almost anywhere in the region. Start wherever they might in most parts of the Southeast, the researchers found that there were streams, arable lands, and often archeological evidence of Indian settlement that was suggestive of the localities described by De Soto's men.

A way out of this impasse presented itself when they began reading an account of the Spanish explorer Juan Pardo's expedition (1567-1568), written by his *scribe* and notary, Juan de la Bandera. As researchers poured through Bandera's history, it became clear to them that Pardo must have visited five of the same Indian towns that De Soto had reached earlier. Pardo arrived at each in precisely the same order as they had been encountered by De Soto's column and they lay in the same kinds of terrain. The Bandera document, moreover, is far more detailed than any of the narratives of the De Soto expedition for this segment of the route. Using Pardo's itinerary as described by Bandera, the research team retraced every possible route leading from Santa Elena (a Spanish post lately unearthed at Parris Island, South Carolina where Pardo's march began) northward to the Appalachian Mountains, which Bandera describes in detail.

Scholars have known for some time now that an indigenous people called the Apalachee had been located in the vicinity of Tallahassee, Florida, and recent archeological finds demonstrate that some, if not all, of De Soto's men camped within what is now

Illinois Historic Preservation Agency

This original oil painting depicts an 1100 A.D. Cahokia city with the top Twin Mounds across the plaza, Monks Mound, and the horizon in the distance. The painting is a background mural in an exhibit gallery at Cahokia Mounds State Historic and World Heritage Site near Collinsville, Illinois.

Hernando de Soto's exploration of the southeastern United States went as far north as Tennessee and Arkansas. He discovered the Mississippi River and was later buried there after he died of a fever.

the city limits of the state's capital. In their effort to locate De Soto's route of march, therefore, Professor Hudson and his colleagues started in Tallahassee.

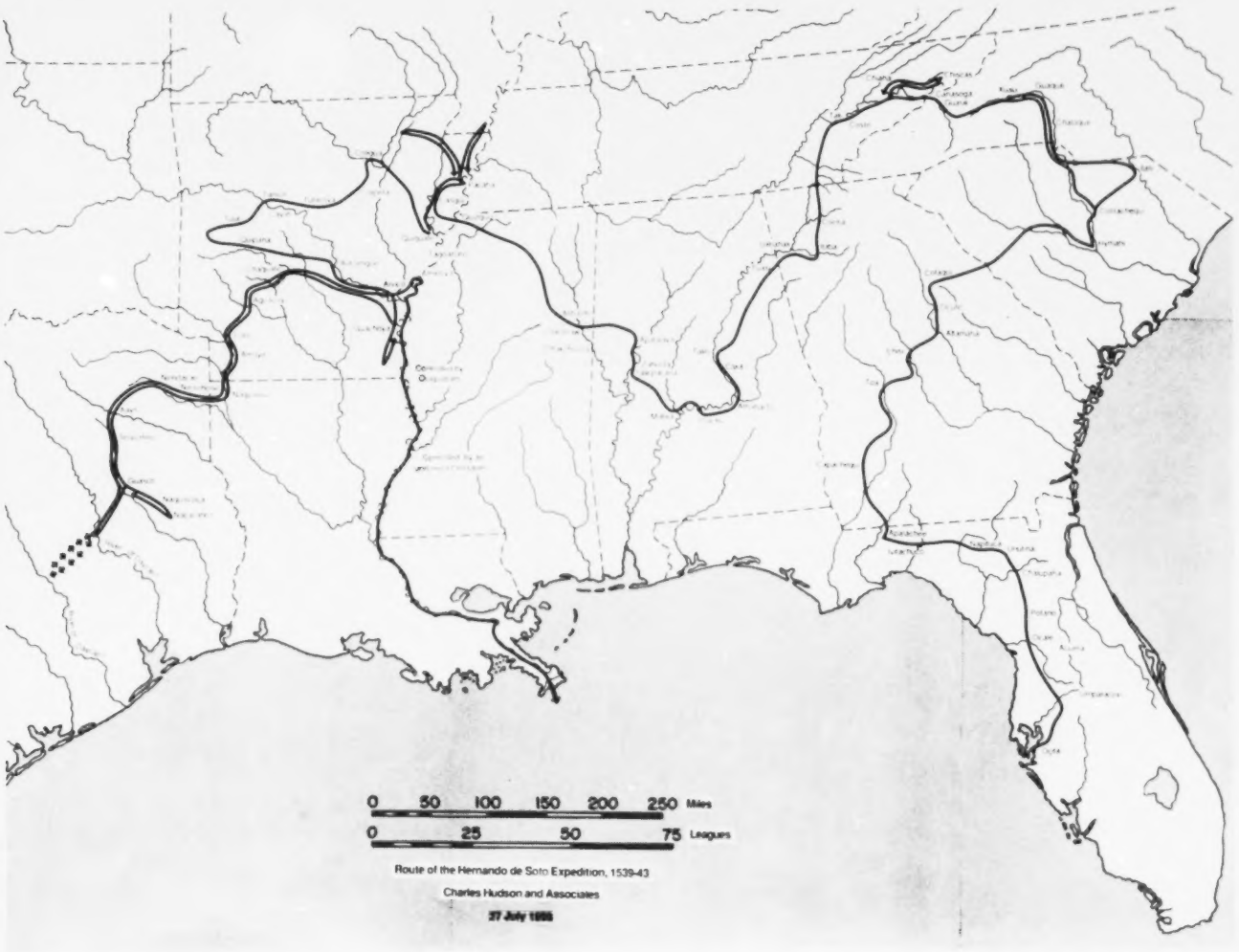
Assuming a pace of no more that 17.5 miles per day for the Spaniards and employing geographical features mentioned in the documents, as well as known archeological indicators of early sixteenth-century habitations along the way, Hudson's group was able to reconstruct De Soto's path through Georgia all the way to what had been the town of Chiaha, now located on Zimmerman's Island in the French Broad River near present day Dandridge, Tennessee (see accompanying map).

With this segment of the De Soto's route in hand, the researchers gained additional insight into the way the expedition behaved. They noted, for example, that De Soto and his party traveled a little more slowly than Pardo and that they were continually guided by Indians, who almost always followed clear trails. While De Soto's men might have wished to find precious metals, they had to find food. As a result, the Spaniards sought out the central towns of the most populous chiefdoms because it was there that food was either stored or could be easily cajoled or extorted from the inhabitants.

Hudson's group has published their reconstruction of several segments of De Soto's march and research on the remainder is in varying stages of completion. One immediate benefit of this reconstruction is that the researchers have been able to make sense out of the movements and activities of another Spanish exploration—that of Tristan de Luna's men, who landed at Pensacola bay and penetrated the interior in 1559-1561.

The routes of exploration followed by De Soto, Luna, and Pardo are intrinsically interesting. Their real importance, however, is that they provide a vital record for addressing some of the most significant questions about the period of 1568-1670, which Professor Hudson described as "the Great Black Hole of Southern History." Among those questions are: 1) What was the nature of the indigenous societies of the Southeast prior to contact with the Europeans? 2) Where were these communities located? 3) How were they transformed into the societies which the Europeans found later in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries?

The "Black Hole" exists because there was no significant European penetration into the interior of the Southeast from 1568 to 1670; nevertheless, this moment encompasses momentous changes—a time in which a significant component of the human mosaic crumbled and fell to pieces. A continuous documentary record of the region's Indian societies during this period exists only in connection with Spanish Florida, the sphere of the mis-


0 50 100 150 200 250 Miles
0 25 50 75 Leagues
Route of the Hernando de Soto Expedition, 1539-43
Charles Hudson and Associates

sions. No European observers were present in the Southeastern interior to see and record the catastrophe that obviously occurred. By piecing together archeological information, the picture that emerges is that of a sharp population decline and societal collapse. It was only toward the end of the seventeenth century that the survivors of this decimation began to coalesce into the familiar groups of the old south—Creeks, Catawbas, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why is it difficult to know what happened to the native American societies before the seventeenth century?

2. What is the theory of the moundbuilders?

3. How does reading the documents of a scribe help us understand the actions of the explorer?

4. What is ethnocentric about our views of early native Americans?

Map Utilization

Activity One. Compare the Hudson map above with the contemporary roadmap and determine from these sources the distances marched by the Spanish explorers.

Activity Two. At their rate of 17.5 miles each day, how long did it take the Spaniards to march from Point A to Point B (points determined by the teacher)?

Note: The names and addresses of the teachers who participated in the 1990 and 1991 seminars at the University of Georgia are available upon request from the author. A record of some of these considerations is forthcoming: Charles M. Hudson and Carmen Tesser (eds.), *The Forgotten Centuries: Spanish Explorers and Indian Chiefdoms in the Southeastern United States in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.*

Carmen Chaves Tesser is General Sandy Beaver Teaching Professor of Romance Languages at the University of Georgia, and Charles Hudson is Professor of History and Anthropology at the University of Georgia.

Christopher Columbus: Bridge Between the Old and New World

Vickie J. Schlene

The more we know and understand the man Christopher Columbus, the more we can understand how this nation evolved from the encounter between the Old World and the New, and the great social and economic changes that historic encounter set in motion.

Helen Nader
"Christopher Columbus:
The Hero and the Historian"

Few men in the course of history have had such a long-lasting effect on the history of the world as Christopher Columbus. Few dates are more readily recalled than 1492. In 1992, we will celebrate the five-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's historic voyage to the New World.

This ERIC/ChESS column highlights a few of the entries in the ERIC database concerning Christopher Columbus and the effects his discoveries had on the world.

EJ 397 621. "Discovering Columbus: Rereading the Past," by Bill Bigelow in *Language Arts*, October 1989, volume 66, number 6, 635-43.

This article presents a series of lessons for a U.S. history class on Christopher Columbus's "discovery" of America. It provides an approach to teaching students to evaluate critically the historical information presented in their textbooks.

ED 303 417. ***The Columbian Voyages, the Columbian Exchange, and Their Historians. Essays on Global and Comparative History,*** by Alfred W. Crosby. (Washington, DC: American Historical Association, 1987), pp. 34. EDRS Price:MF-$0.01. PC not available from EDRS.

The five-hundredth anniversary of the Columbian discovery of America is upon us, and with it the obligation to assess existing interpretations of the significance of the voyage and establishment of permanent links between the Old and New Worlds. Examples of historical interpretation from many schools of thought on Columbus and his impact on the world are presented. The Columbian influence on the Old and New Worlds is assessed; and intellectual, economic, nutritional, and demographic effects are discussed. Finally, the old legacy of the Columbian exchange is reviewed in terms of its effects on world population and ethnic composition.

ED 310 973. ***Columbus and Ecological Imperialism,*** by Alfred W. Crosby. (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Indiana Council for the Social Studies, Muncie, IN, April 6-8, 1989), pp. 14. EDRS Price:MF-$0.01/PC-$0.01, plus postage.

Christopher Columbus crossed the Atlantic in 1492 and opened a period of extensive exchange between the Old and New Worlds. The greatest impact of his discoveries on the New World has been the one which the least attention has been paid: the biological impact. This paper discusses many biotas that Columbus imported to the New World, including weeds, which at times crowded out native flora, domesticated animals, and old world diseases, like small pox, measles, and malaria. A six-item bibliography is included.

ED 312 213. ***The Voyages of Columbus: A Turning Point in World History,*** by Alfred W. Crosby. (ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, Bloomington, IN, 1989), pp. 48. EDRS Price:MF-$0.01/PC-$0.02, plus postage.

Part One of this booklet is an introduction by John J. Patrick dealing with teaching about the Columbus's voyages. Part Two, "Columbus and Ecological Imperialism," by Alfred W. Crosby, provides an ecological perspective on the conditions and consequences of the Columbian exchange. Part Three, "Christopher Columbus: The Hero and the Historian," by Helen Nader points out that the one key to understanding the Columbian voyages and their consequences is accurate information about Columbus and his deeds. The document concludes with a twenty-nine-item bibliography.

EJ 287 485. "Jamaica on Early Maps," by Benjamin F. Richason, Jr. in *Journal of Geography*, September-October 1983, volume 82, number 5, 195-204.

Columbus sighted Jamaica during his second voyage and was marooned there for more than a year during his fourth voyage.

The succession of early maps of Jamaica betrays its slow development and its unimportance to early colonizers. Modern tourism is the elusive "gold" which Spanish fortune hunters did not find.

The items preceded by an ED number are in the ERIC system and are available in many libraries around the country or copies may be ordered from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). For additional information concerning ordering copies, contact EDRS, 7420 Fullerton Road, Suite 110, Springfield, Virginia 22153 or call 800-443-3742. Entries preceded by "EJ" are annotated monthly in the *Current Index to Journals in Education (CIJE)*. They can be located in the journal sections of most libraries or ordered through Interlibrary Loan.

The ERIC/Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education (ERIC/ChESS) acquires, processes, and reports on the significant literature in social studies and the social sciences. Through the ERIC database, ERIC/ChESS provides ready access to that literature. Address any comments, inquiries, or search requests (there is a minimal fee for a search) to ERIC/ChESS, 2805 East Tenth Street, Suite 120, Bloomington, IN 47405 or call 812-855-3838. ❑

Vickie J. Schlene is User Services Coordinator for the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, Bloomington, Indiana.

"The object of the Organization shall be to promote historical study and research in the field of American history and to do all things necessary and proper to accomplish this purpose."

Constitution of the Organization of American Historians, Article II

Membership in the OAH is your way of actively supporting this simple, straightforward goal . . . to promote historical study and research in American history. As a member of the OAH you'll receive either the *Journal of American History*, the leading publication in the field, or the *Magazine of History*, our publication especially for members in the primary/secondary teacher category.

You'll also receive the *OAH Newsletter*, with articles, commentary, professional opportunity ads, fellowship announcements, and other valuable information about the organization and the profession, plus a copy of our Annual Meeting *Program* containing a complete list of the sessions planned for the OAH convention.

Join Us.

Please start my membership in the Organization of American Historians.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

___ Check or money order enclosed (must be drawn in U.S. funds, on U.S. bank)
___ Charge my ___ Visa ___ Mastercard
Card No._____
Signature_____
Exp. Date_____

Check appropriate income/dues category:

Individual Membership
__ $30, income under $20,000
__ $45, income $20,000-29,999
__ $60, income $30,000-39,000
__ $70, income $40,000-49,999
__ $80, income $50,000-59,999
__ $90, income over $60,000
__ $100, Contributing Member

Institutional Subscribers
__ $100, Institutional
__ $10, postage outside U.S.

__ $30, Primary/Secondary Teacher
__ $40, Associate
__ $40, Emeritus/Retired
__ $45, Foreign Scholar, postage included
__ $30+, Dual (receive one copy of *JAH*) Select the income category for one member. Add $30 for second member.
__ $1,000, Life Membership (may be paid in two installments)
__ $1,500, Patron (may be paid in four installments)
__ $15, Student* (5 year limit)

_____
*faculty signature required

Return coupon (photocopy accepted) along with your credit card information or a check or money order made payable to the Organization of American Historians.

Organization of American Historians
112 North Bryan Street, Bloomington, IN 47408-4199

MOH/SP91

National History Day Commemorates the Columbian Quincentenary

Lois Scharf
Cathy Gorn

The 1992 National History Day theme, "Discovery, Encounter, Exchange in History: the Seeds of Change," presents an opportunity for students and teachers to investigate topics related to the Columbian voyages and their legacies. The 1992 theme challenges students to explore the multicultural aspects and interrelationships of diverse populations before and after the initial encounter and subsequent exchanges between two hemispheres.

National History Day, which occurs annually in June, is the culmination of a series of contests at successively higher levels. Throughout the school year, students engage in extensive reading and research of original sources and outstanding scholarship in order to prepare papers, projects, performances, and media presentations, based on an annual historical theme. The 1992 theme is broad enough in scope to suggest topics ranging from community to world history.

The Columbian encounter had a profound affect on all of mankind; its consequences were immediate and long term. We continue to feel its effects as we approach the twenty-first century. The voyages set off an enormous set of interrelated affects which offer scores of possible topics for further research and study. The events of 1492 created a demographic revolution. Disease and conquest had a disastrous effect on the native populations of the Americas, while the introduction of new food stuffs generated a rise in the European population. The events also touched off new divisions in the world's labor supply and the globalization of the world economy. A global, political transformation evolved as well, setting off the rise of global empires and colonization. One result was the largest genetic and cultural intermingling of Europeans, Africans, and native Americans in history. Students may choose topics related to these and other issues for investigation and presentation in National History Day entries.

Whatever the topics students choose to investigate, they must be sure to relate the topic to the theme "Discovery, Encounter, Exchange in History." Students interested in Christopher Columbus and his impact on history must first ask questions about the term "discover" when analyzing sources and their relationship to the theme. Is the word "discovery" appropriate when discussing Columbus's contribution in history? Students may wish to study various aspects of the initial encounters between the Europeans and the Native Americans or the Africans. What kind of encounter occurred? Is the term "encounter" too sanitized or weak when used to describe the events that took place? Or, students may be interested in analyzing the impact of the exchanges of disease and food stuffs between the two worlds.

Although the National History Day theme is related to the Columbian Quincentenary, it is in fact much broader. Students are not required to study topics related to the initial encounter and exchanges between the two worlds in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but may investigate topics in other areas provided that the topics chosen are related to the theme. For example, a project might analyze the impact of a particular scientific discovery in history; a media presentation might be developed that examines the voyage of southern blacks to northern states and their encounter with the inner cities; or a paper might focus on cultural exchanges or contributions from a particular immigrant group in the United States.

These are only a few of the scores of topics available for study. Whatever topic is chosen—Christopher Columbus or Lewis and Clark, the Spanish missionaries among the native Americans or the African diaspora, the impact of maize on European society or the effects of African religion on the peoples of the Caribbean—studies must include evidence of primary and secondary research and must indicate the topic's significance in history. After months of historical research and interpretation of the materials, students may develop projects and use the National History Day array of local, state, and national competitions as a forum to demonstrate their scholarly exploration of "Discovery, Encounter, Exchange in History."

In 1992 the educational activities associated with National History Day will reflect the theme itself. Students will discover appropriate source materials for rigorous research, encounter the evidence upon which historical scholarship is based, and exchange their presentations and newly-gained knowledge with their peers at History Day competitions.

Lois Scharf is Executive Director and Cathy Gorn, Assistant Director, of National History Day in Cleveland, Ohio.

National History Day, 1992 Theme Supplement
Topics Related to
"Discovery, Encounter, Exchange in History"

Following is a list of potential topics. The list is not meant, of course, to be inclusive. It is a merely a start to help students begin thinking about the 1992 theme. Whatever category chosen, the student should be sure to place the topic into historical perspective and focus in on the topic's significance and impact in history. National History Day judges will examine not only the student's research skills and creative presentation, but his or her understanding of the topic's historical significance as well.

Navigation Technology

the compass developed by the Chinese
the French sailors of Dieppe
ship building technology—Dutch Carabelle

Products, Economy, Trade, Commerce

horse
cattle
sheep
Indian, Spanish, French or Dutch place names
economic system of the Incas of South America
food items — maize, potatoes, wheat, coffee, bananas, sugar
products — canoes, moccasins, toboggans
language — words
log cabin
European architecture in the New World
African slave trade
American trade for Spanish gold, silver, furs
New England rum bartered for slaves
French fur trade
North American/Latin American fruit trade
British East India Company
England's exchange of opium for silver in China

Explorers and Explorations

Christopher Columbus
Vikings
Prince Henry, the Navigator
Ferdinand Magellan
Sir Francis Drake
Wallis
Abel Janszoon Tasman
Fredrick Albert Cook
James Cook
Amerigo Vespucci

Explorers and Explorations, continued

Spanish Galleon Nuestra Senora de la Concepcion
Vasco Nunez de Balboa
Juan Ponce de Leon
Henry Hudson
Samuel de Champlain
Vasco de Gama
Lewis and Clark
St. Brendan the Navigator
Space explorers and explorations
Admiral Byrd
Marco Polo
Commodore Perry — the "Black Fleet" to Japan
Sven Hedin
Robert E. Peary
Zebulon Pike

Conquerors

Alexander the Great
Yermak — conquest of Siberia, creation of Russia
Justinian — transformed Eastern Roman Empire
Mehmet II (Ottoman Empire)
Mohammed
Francisco de Coronado
Hernan Cortez
Francisco Pizarro

Native Populations

Aztec pyramid
development of the Incan Empire
irrigation system of the Anasazi at Mesa Verde,Colorado
Peruvian Indian and Navajo weaving styles
Columbus and the Arawak Indians
impact of the Spanish horse on the American Plains Indians
Spanish enforcement of religion on the Aztecs

Religion

role of Roman Catholicism in Spain in the 15th Century — Spanish Inquisition
Spanish mission established by Junipero Serra in 18th century California
religious conversion of the native Americans according to the Spanish and English
native American, Norse and Hindu creation stories
Christian Doctrine for the instruction of Indians
Bartolome De Las Casas' missions — Franciscans, Dominicans
Christian influence on American slave religion
Crusades
Jesuit missionaries in the Far East
exchange of African religion with the New World

Discoveries

gold in California
penicillin
atomic energy
electricity
Rosetta Stone
Dead Sea Scrolls
gun powder — 15th century China
coal
King Tutankhamen's tomb
polio vaccine

Cultural Exchanges

African influence on speech, folkore, music, literature
invasions of England — Anglo-Saxon, Kelts, Normans
Dutch Boers in Africa
Peter the Great — brining of west to Russia
exchange and encounter of black and white women in America
textile making and exchanges of patterns
food ways and eating habits
folklore: songs, stories, artifacts

Immigration

the immigrant in America — housing, education, jobs, communication
Jewish immigration into Palestine
Ellis Island
Asian immigrants in America after 1965 — job market, tradition clashes, break-up of extended family
experience of Irish immigrants in America
Irish influence on American music or American influence on Irish music
Halloween (Celtic tradition)
Chinese immigrants and western railroad building

Bibliography

The following bibliography prepared by National History Day is not all inclusive. It is meant to serve as a place for students to begin their research. Students will need to conduct extensive research and investigate primary as well as secondary resources. They should be encouraged to consult not only their own library, but public libraries, archives and museums as well. Students who choose local history topics should investigate community sources and conduct oral history interviews when possible. Students should be made aware that resources for investigating historical topics include songs, works of art and architecture in addition to books, documents and manuscripts. (Note: an asterisk and "ref." denote primary and reference sources respectively.)

GENERAL

Carter, Ron. *The Spread of Civilization*. Morristown: Silver Burdett Co., 1980.

Crosby, Alfred W., Jr. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1972.

Dodge, Ernest Stanley. *Islands and Empires: Western Impact on the Pacific and East Asia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976.

Fagan, Brian M. *Clash of Cultures*. New York: W.H. Freeman, 1984.

Goodnough, Simon. *The Renaissance: The Living Past*. New York: Arco Publishing, 1984.

McNeill, William H. *Plagues and Peoples*. Garden City: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976.

COLUMBUS

Bigelow, William. "Discovering Columbus: Rereading the Past." *Language Arts* (October 1989).

Bowen, Clarence Winthrop. "Christopher Columbus, 1492-1892." *The Independent* 31 (May 1883).

Casas, Bartolome de las. *The Diario of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989.*

Colon, Fernando. *The Life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus by His Son, Ferdinand*. Translated and annotated by Benjamin

Keen. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1959.
Columbus, Christopher. *Book of Privileges*. London: 1893.*
———. *The Journal of Christopher Columbus*. New York: Bonanza Books, 1989.*
———. *The Log of Christopher Columbus*. Translated by Robert H. Fuson. Camden: International Marine Pub. Co., 1987.*
Dolan, Sean. *Christopher Columbus: The Intrepid Mariner*. New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1989.
Gottheil, Richard James Horatio. "Columbus in Jewish Literature." *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* (1894): 129-137.
Granzotto, Gianni. *Christopher Columbus*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1985.
Griffith, Brian. "500th Columbus Day: What Not to Celebrate". *National Catholic Reporter* 26 (May 1990): 17.
Jane, Cecil, ed. *The Voyages of Christopher Columbus*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1970.
Leon-Portilla, Miguel. *The Broken Spears, the Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*. London: Constable, 1962.*
McCarthy, Charles H. *Columbus and His Predecessors*. Philadelphia: John J. McVey, 1912.
Morison, Samuel Eliot. *Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Cristopher Columbus*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1942.
Nowell, Charles E. "The Columbus Question." *American History Review* 44 (1939): 802-22.
Nunn, George Emra. *The Geographical Conceptions of Columbus: A Critical Consideration of Four Problems*. New York: Octagon Books, 1977.
Sable, Martin H. "Christopher Columbus and Jewish Assistance in Discovery of the New World." In *Latin American Jewry: A Research Guide*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1978.
Vignaud, Henry. "Columbus a Spaniard and a Jew." *American Historical Review* 18 (April 1913): 505-12.

EXPLORERS AND EXPLORATION

Arrington, Carolyn. *Estevanico, Black Explorer in Spanish Texas*. N.p.: Eakin Press, 1986.
Bakeless, John Edwin. *Lewis & Clark, Partners in Discovery*. New York: W. Morrow, 1947.
Bates, Peter. "Profile: Ron McNair." *Equal Opportunity* (Spring 1983): 56-7.
Cairns, Trevor. *Europe and the World*. Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Co., 1975.
Clarke, Helen. *Vikings*. New York: Gloucester Press, 1979.
De Voto, Bernard, ed. *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1953.*
Equiano, Olaudah. *Equiano's Travels: The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, the African*. Abridged and edited by Paul Edwards. London: Heinemann, 1967.*
Fremont, John Charles. *The Expeditions of John Charles Fremont*. Vol. 1, *Travels from 1832 to 1844*. Edited by Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970.*
Garst, Doris Shannon. *Three Conquistadors: Cortes, Coronado, Pizarro*. New York: Julian Messner, 1947.
Gilman, Michael. *Matthew Henson*. n.p.: Chelsea House, 1988.
Goodman, Edward J. *The Explorers of South America*. New York: Macmillan, 1972.
Goodnough, David. *Francis Drake*. Mahwah: Troll Associates, 1979.
Great Explorers. Filmstrips. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 1978.
The Infinite Voyage. ITV videos (8, 60-minute shows). National Academy of Science.
Grant, Matthew. *Champlain: Explorer of New France*. Mankato: Creative Education, 1974.
———. *Coronado: Explorer of the Southwest*. Mankato: Creative Education, 1974.
Grant, Neil. *Conquerors*. Morristown: Silver Burdett Co., 1982.
Goetzmann, William H. *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and Scientist in the Winning of the American West*. New York: Knopf, 1966.
Harley, Ruth. *Ferdinand Magellan*. Mahwah: Troll Assoc.,1979.
Henson, Matthew Alexander. *A Black Explorer at the North Pole*. New York: Walker, 1969.*
Jensen, Malcolm C. *Leif Erickson the Lucky*. New York: Franklin Watts, 1979.
Joseph, Joan. *Henry Hudson*. New York: Watts, 1974.
Knight, David. *Vasco da Gama*. Mahwah: Troll Associates, 1979.
Knoop, Faith Y. *A World Explorer: Francisco Coronado*. Champaign: Garrard Publishing Co., 1967.
Krensky, Stephen. *Who Really Discovered America?* New York: Hastings House, 1987.
Miguel, Pierre. *The Age of Discovery*. Morristown: Silver Burdett Co., 1978.
Newby, Eric. *Rand McNally World Atlas of Exploration*. New York: Rand McNally Co., 1975.
Pascall, Jeremy. *Pirates and Privateers*. Morristown: Silver Burdett, 1981.
Paul, Rodman W. *California Gold: The Beginning of Mining in the Far West*. N.p.: n.p., 1974.
Paullin, Charles O. *American Voyages to the Orient, 1690-1865: An Account of Merchant and Naval Activities in China, Japan and Various Pacific Islands*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1971.
Peary, Robert Edwin. *The North Pole, Its Discovery in 1909 Under the Auspices of the Peary Artic Club*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1910.*
Roberts, Gail. *Atlas of Discovery*. London: Aldus Books, 1973.
Ryan, Peter. *Explorers and Map Makers*. New York: Lodestar Books, 1989.

Sandak, Cass R. *Explorers and Discovery*. New York: Franklin Watts, 1983.
Severin, Timothy. *The Oriental Adventure: Explorers of the East*. Boston: Little and Brown, 1976.
Shepherd, Elizabeth. *The Discoveries of Esteban the Black*. n.p.: Dodd Mead, 1970.
Unruh, John D. *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1860*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979.
Vespucci, Amerigo. *The First Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci*. London: B. Quartich, 1893.*
Withey, Lynne. *Voyages of Discovery: Captain Cook and the Exploration of the Pacific*. New York: Morrow, 1987.
Wilks, John. *Hernando Cortez: Conquistador in Mexico*. New York: Lerner, 1974.
Wright, Richard R. "Negro Companions of the Spanish Explorers." *American Anthropologist* (June 1902): 217-28.

SPANISH HISTORY

Alarcon, Norma and Sylvia Kossar. *Bibliography of Hispanic Women Writers*. Bloomington, Indiana: Chicano-Riqueno Studies, 1980. ref.
D'Ailly, Pierre. *Imago Mundi*. Seville: N.p., 1490.
Elliott, J.H. *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1963.
Fernandez-Armesto, Felipe. *Ferdinand and Isabella*. New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., 1975.
Frazier, Antonia. *The Warrior Queens*. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.
Hare, Christopher. *A Queen of Queens and the Making of Spain*. London: Harper and Brothers, 1906.
Howard, John. *Spain: The Land and Its People*. Morristown: Silver Burdett, 1988.
Hume, Martin Andrew Sharp. *Philip II of Spain*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1970.
Mariejol, Jean-Hippolyte. *The Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1961.
Plunket, Ierne L. *Isabel of Castile and the Making of the Spanish Nation 1451-1504*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1915.
Starr, Eliza Allen. *Isabella of Castile*. Chicago: C.Y. Waite Co., 1889.
Stevens, Paul. *Ferdinand and Isabella*. New York: Chelsea House, 1989.

SPANISH IN AMERICA

Arrillaga, Jose Joaquin. *Diary of His Surveys of the Frontier*. Baja, California Travels Series 17 (1969).*
Bandelier, Adolph F. *The Discovery of New Mexico by the Franciscan Monk Friar Marcos de Niza in 1539*. Translated and edited by Madeleine Turrell Rodack. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981.*
Bourne, Edward Gaylord. *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto in the Conquest of Florida*. New York: Allerton Book Co., 1922.*
Casas, Bartolome de las. *In Defense of the Indians*, Translated, edited, and annotated by Stafford Poole. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974.*
———. *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account*. Translated by Herma Briffault. New York: Seabury Press, 1974.*
———. *History of the Indies*. Translated by Anree M. Collard. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.*
———. *A Selection of His Writings*, Translated and edited by George Sanderlin. New York: Albert A. Knopf, 1971.*
Diaz del Castillo, Bernal. *Cortez and the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniard in 1521*. Edited by B.G. Herzon. Hamden: Linnett Books, 1988.*
Bandelier, Fanny, trans. *The Journey of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, and His Companions from Florida to the Pacific, 1528-1536*. New York: A.S. Barnes and Co., 1905.*
Bannon, John Francis. *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513-1821*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970.
Beers, Henry Putney. *Spanish and Mexican Records of the American Southwest*. Tucson: University of Arizona, 1979.
Blackmar, Frank Wilson. *Spanish Institutions of the Southwest*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1890.
Gibson, Charles. *Spain in America*. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.
Jones, Oakah L., Jr. *Nueva Vizcaya: Heartland of the Spanish Frontier*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.
———. *Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the North-ern Frontier of New Spain*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979.
Natella, Arthur A., Jr. *The Spanish in America*. Dobbs Ferry: Oceana Publications, 1975.
Phelan, John Leddy. *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*. 2d ed. rev. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.

NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA

Acosta, Jose de. *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*. Reprinted from the English translated edition of Edward Grimston and edited with notes and an introduction by Clements R. Markham. New York: B. Franklin, 1973.*
Cook, Sherburne F. and Woodrow Borah. *Essays in Population History: Mexico and the Caribbean*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.
Lavine, Harold. *Central America*. New York: Time Incorporated, 1968.
Lockhart, James and Enrique Otte. *Letters and People of the Spanish Indies, Sixteenth Century*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1976.*
Lehner, Ernst and Johanna. *How They Saw the New World*. Edited by Gerard L. Alexander. New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1966.*

McManis, Douglas R. *European Impressions of the New England Coast, 1497-1620*. Chicago: University of Chicago, Dept. of Geography, 1972.*

Meinig, D.W. *The Shaping of America Volume I*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.

Morison, Samuel Eliot. *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages A.D. 1492-1616*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Steck, Francis Borgia. *A Tentative Guide to Historical Materials on the Spanish Borderlands*. New York: B. Franklin, 1971. ref.

Stoddard, Ellwyn, *et al. Borderlands Sourcebook: A Guide to Literature on Northern Mexico and the American Southwest*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1983. ref.

Swanson, Earl H., Warwick M. Bray, and Ian S. Farrington. *The Ancient Americas*. New York: Peter Bedrick Books, 1989.

North America

Adamson, David Grant. *The Ruins of Time: Four and a Half Centuries of Conquest and Discovery Among the Maya*. New York: Praeger, 1975.

Benzoni, Girolamo. *History of The New World, by Girolamo Benzoni, Showing His Travels in America, from A.D. 1541 to 1556, with some Particulars of the Island of Canary*. Translated and edited by W.H. Smyth. New York: B. Franklin, 1970.*

Boscana, Geronimo. *Chinigchinich: Historical Account of the Origins, Customs,and Traditions of the Indians at the Missionary Establishment of San Juan Capistrano*. Translated by Alfred Robinson. Oakland: Brobooks, 1947.*

Cortes, Hernan. *Letters from Mexico*. Edited and translated by A.R. Pagden. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1971.*

Crouch, Dora P., Daniel J. Garr and Axel I. Mundigo. *Spanish City Planning in North America*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982.

Diaz del Castillo, Bernal. *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico 1517-1521*. Translated by Alfred P. Maudsley. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1956.*

Dunne, Peter Masten. *Pioneer Jesuits in Northern Mexico*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1944.

Duran, Diego. *Book of the Gods and Rites and the Ancient Calendar*. Edited and translated by Doris Heyden and Fernando Horcasitas. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971.*

Lopez de Gomara, Francisco. *Cortes: The Life of the Conquerer by his Secretary*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964.*

Motolinia, Toribio. *History of the Indians of New Spain*. Edited and translated by Elizabeth A. Foster. Berkeley: Cortes Society, 1950.*

Quinn, David B., ed. *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612, Vol. I*. New York: Arno Press, 1979.*

Sauer, Carl Ortwin. *Sixteenth Century North America: The Land and the People as Seen by the Europeans*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.*

Sahagun, Bernardino de. *General History of the Things of New Spain: Florentine Codex*. Edited and translated by A.J.O. Anderson and C.E. Dibble. Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1950-1982.*

Tedlock, Dennis, trans. *Popol-Vuh: The Definitive Edition of the Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1985.*

Zorita, Alonso de. *Life and Labor in Ancient Mexico (The Brief and Summary Relation of the Lords of New Spain)*. Translated by Benjamin Keen. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1963.*

South America

Bethell, Leslie, ed. *The Cambridge History of Latin America*. 5 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Cieza de Leon, Pedro de. *The Incas*. Edited by Victor Wolfgang von Hagan. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959.*

Cobo, Bernabe. *History of the Inca Empire*. Translated by Roland Hamilton. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979.*

Diffie, Bailey W. *A History of Colonial Brazil, 1500-1792*. Malabar: R.E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1987.

Dobyns, Henry F. *Peru: A Cultural History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Hahner, June E., ed. *Women in Latin American History: Their Lives and Views*. Los Angeles: UCLA, 1976.

Huaman Poma de Ayala, Felipe. *Letter to a King: A Picture-History of the Inca Civilization* . Edited and translated by Christopher Dilke. Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1978.*

Marrin, Albert. *Inca and Spaniard, Pizarro and the Conquest of Peru*. New York: Atheneum, 1989.

Parry, John H. and Robert G. Keith, eds. *New Iberian World: A Documentary History of the Discovery and Settlement of Latin America to the Early 17th Century*. New York: Times Books, 1984.*

Tannenbaum, Frank. *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947.

Vega, Garcilaso de la. *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*. Translated by Harold V. Livermore. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966.*

Wachtel, Nathan. *The Vision of the Vanquished, the Spanish Conquest of Peru through Indian Eyes, 1530-1570*. Translated by Ben and Sian Reynolds. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1977.*

Zarate, Agustin de. *The Discovery and Conquest of Peru*. Edited and translated by J.M. Cohen. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968.*

NATIVE AMERICAN HISTORY

Brandon, William. *Indians*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1989.

Brown, Dee. *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970.

Byler, Mary G., Michael A. Dorris and Arlene B. Hirshfelder. *Guide*

to Research on North American Indians. Chicago: American Library Association, 1983. ref.

Calloway, Colin G., ed. *New Directions in American Indian History*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988.

Danziger, Edmund Jefferson, Jr. *Indians and Bureaucrats: Administrating the Reservation Policy during the Civil War*. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1974.

Deloria, Vine, Jr. *Custer Died For Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. New York: MácMillian, 1969.

Dorn, Edward. *The Shoshoneans: The People of the Basin-Plateau*. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1966.

Fitzhugh, William, ed. *Cultures in Contact: The Impact of European Contacts on Native American Cultural Institutions, A.D. 1000-1800*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985.

Haglund, Crawford, Berthiaume, Sherman, Romance. *The Washoe, Paiute, and Shoshone Indians of Nevada*. Carson City: State of Nevada Department of Education, 1964.

Hermann, Ruth. *The Paiutes of Pyramid Late: A Narrative Concerning A Western Nevada Indian Tribe*. California: Harlan-Young Press, 1972.

Hopkins, Sarah Winnemucca. *Life Among the Paiutes: Their Wrongs and Claims*. California: Chalfant Press, 1983.

Huntington, Ellsworth. *The Red Man's Continent, A Chronicle of Aboriginal America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919.

Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada. *Newe: A Western Shoshone History*. Utah: University of Utah Printing Service, n.d.

———. *Numa: A Northern Paiute History*. Utah: University of Utah Printing Service, n.d.

James, Alton. *English Institutions and the American Indian*. 1884. Reprint. New York and London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1973.

Jennings, Francis. *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest*. North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1975.

Levy, Jerrold E. and Stephen J. Kunitz. *Indian Drinking, Navajo Practices and Anglo-American Theories*. New York: Wiley, 1974.

Little, Elizabeth. *The Indian Sickness at Nantucket, 1763-1764*. Nuntucket: Nantucket Historical Association, 1988.

Martin, Calvin, ed. *The American Indian and the Problem of History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Nabokov, Peter, ed. *Native American Testimony: An Anthology of Indian and White Relations; First Encounter to Dispossession*. New York: Crowell, 1978.

Nash, Gary B. *Red, White, and Black, The Peoples of Early America*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1974.

Ogden, Peter Skene. *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1827-28 and 1828-29*. Edited by G. Williams. London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1971.*

Porter, Frank W. III. *Indians in Maryland and Delaware: A Critical Bibliography*. Bloomington: The Indiana University Press, 1979. ref.

Prucha, Francis Paul. *A Bibliographical Guide to the History of Indian-White Relations in the U.S.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977. ref.

Reid, Hugo. *The Indians of Los Angeles County: Hugo Reid's Letter of 1852*. Edited and annotated by Rober F. Heizer. Southwest Museum Papers no. 21. Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1968.*

Rogin, Michael Paul. *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian*. New York: Knopf, 1975.

Sheehan, Bernard W. *Seeds of Extinction: Jefferson Philanthropy and the American Indian*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1973.

Terrell, John Upton and Donna M. Terrell. *Indian Women of the Western Morning: Their Life in Early America*. New York: Dial Press, 1974.

Thornton, Russell. *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1942*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.

Tyler, S. Lyman. *Two Worlds: The Indian Encounter with the European, 1492-1509*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988.

Underhill, Ruth M. *Red Man's America: A History of Indians in the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971.

Wilkinson, Charles. *American Indians, Time and the Law: Native Societies in a Modern Constitutional Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.

AFRICAN AND AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY

Alderman, Clifford Lindsey. *Colonists for Sale*. New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1975.

———. *Rum, Slaves, and Molasses*. New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1975.

Bastside, Roger. *African Civilizations in the New World*. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

Boles, John B. *Black Southerners, 1619-1869*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983.

Botkin, B. A., ed. *A Treasury of Southern Folklore*. New York: Crown Publishers, 1949.

Brown, Larissa V. *Atlantic in the New World 1493-1834*. Providence: N.p., 1988.

Curtin, Philip D. *The African Slave Trade, a Census*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.

Davies, Oliver. *West Africa Before the Europeans: Archaeology and Prehistory*. London: Methuen, 1967.

Degler, Carl N. *Neither Black Nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States*. New York: Macmillan, 1971.

Elkins, Stanley M. *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*. Chicago: The University of Chicago

Press, 1968.
Fox, Paula. *The Slave Dancer: A Novel*. Scarsdale: Bradbury Press, 1973.
Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth. *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988.
Franklin, John Hope. *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1980.
Fauset, Arthur Huff. *Black Gods of the Metropolis: Negro Religious Cults of the Urban North*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1971.
Genovese, Eugene D. *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1974.
Georgia Writers' Project. *Drums and Shadows*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1940.
Gutman, Herbert G. *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1976.
Hurston, Zora Neale. *Mules and Men*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978.
Johnson, Charles R. *Middle Passage*. New York: Atheneum Publishing, 1990.
Joyner, Charles. *Down By the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984.
Katz, William Loren. *Eyewitness: The Negro in American History*. New York: Pitman Publishing, 1968.
Kwamena-Poh, Michael, *et al*. *African History in Maps*. Burnt Mill, Harlow, Essex: Longman Group Ltd., 1988
Lapp, Rudolph M. *Blacks in Gold Rush California*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.
Owsley, Frank L. *Plain Folk of the Old South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982.
Rutherford, Peggy, ed. *African Voices*. New York: The Vanguard Press, 1958.
Sammons, Vivian Ovelton. *Blacks in Science and Medicine*. New York: Hemisphere Publishing Corporation, 1989.
Snòw, Philip. *The Star Raft: China's Encounter with Africa*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988.
Stampp, Kenneth M. *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956.
Van Sertima, Ivan, ed. *African Presence in Early Europe*. USA: Transaction Publishers, 1985.
Wilmore, Gayraud S. *Black Religion and Black Radicalism: An Interpretation of the Religious History of Afro-American People*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1983.
Wilson, Derek A. *A Student's Atlas of African History*. London: University of London Press, 1971.
Woodward, C. Vann. *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971.

AFRICAN AND AFRO-AMERICAN RELIGIONS

Barrett, Leonard E. *Soul Force: African Heritage in Afro-American Religion*. New York: Doubleday/Anchor, 1974.
———. *The Sun and the Drum: African Roots in Jamaican Folk Tradition*. Kingston, Jamaica: Sangster's Book Stores, 1976.
———. *The Rastafarians: Sounds of Cultural Dissonance*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1977.
Bascom, William R. *Shango in the New World*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972.
Bastide, Roger. *The African Religions of Brazil: Toward a Sociology of the Interpretation of Civilization*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.
Bibly, Kenneth and Fu-kiau Bunseki. *Kumina: A Kongo-based Tradition in the New World*. Brussels: Centre d'Etude de Documentation Africaines, 1983.
Bramly, Serge. *Macumba*. New York: St. Martins, 1977.
Courlander, Harold. *The Drum and the Hoe: Life and Lore of the Haitian People*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960.
Frazier, E. Franklin. *The Negro Church in America*. New York: Schocken Books, 1964.
Gonzalez-Wippler, Migene. *The Santeria Experience*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1982.
Leacock, Ruth and Seth Leacock. *Spirits of the Deep: A Study of an Afro-Brazilian Cult*. New York: Doubleday, 1972.
Lincoln, C. Eric, ed. *The Black Experience in Religion*. Garden City: Doubleday/Anchor, 1974.
Metraux, Alfred. *Voodoo in Haiti*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.
Morrish, Ivor. *Obeah, Christ and Rastaman: Jamaica and its Religion*. Cambridge: James Clarke and Co., 1982.
Murphy, Joseph M. *Santeria: An African Religion in America*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1988.
Owens, Joseph. *Dread: The Rastafarians of Jamaica*. Kingston, Jamaica: Sangster's Book Stores, 1976.
Raboteau, Albert J. *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.
Sernett, Milton G., ed. *Afro-American Religious History: A Documentary Witness*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1985.
Simpson, George E. *Religious Cults in the Caribbean*. Rio Pedras, Puerto Rico: n.p., 1980.
———. *Black Religions in the New World*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.
Sobel, Mechal. *Trabelin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1979.
Sturm, Fred Gillette. "Afro-Brazilian Cults." *African Religions*. Edited by Newell Booth. New York: NOK Publishers, 1977.

GEOGRAPHY

Bricker, Charles. *A History of Cartography: 2500 Years of Maps and Map Makers*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1969.
Capone, Donald L. and Arnold B. Cheyney. *The Map Corner*. Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1983.
Campbell, Tony. *Early Maps*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1981.

Du Jourdin, Michel Mollat, et al. *Sea Charts of the Early Explorers*. Translated by L.R. Dethan. London: Thames and Hudson, 1984.

Hirsch, S. Carl. *Mapmakers of America: From the Age of Discovery to the Space Era*. New York: Viking Press, 1970.

Outline Maps of the World. McDonald Publishing Co., 1986.

Teaching Geography: A Model for Action. Washington, DC: National Geographic Society, 1988.

White, Carl I. *Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West: The Spanish Entrada to the Louisiana Purchase (1540-1804)*. San Francisco: The Institute for Historical Geography, 1957.

UNITED STATES —General

Bradbury, John. *Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986.

Bryant, Edwin. *What I Saw in California: Being the Journal of a Tour, By the Emigrant Route and South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, Across the Continent of North America, the Great Basin, and Through California, In the Years 1846-1847*. Minneapolis: Ross and Hanes, 1967.*

Cronon, William. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.

Dunne, Peter Masten, S.J. *Black Robes in Lower California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

———. *Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast*. Berkeley: Univeristy of California Press, 1940.

Hackett, Charles Wilson, ed. *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*. Collected by Adolph F.A. Bandelier and Fanny R. Bandelier. Washington, DC: Carnegie Institute, 1937.*

Hafen, LeRoy R. *Mountain Men and Fur Traders of the Far West*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982.

Higginson, Francis. *New-Englands Plantation: 1630*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1970.*

Jameson, John Franklin, ed. *Narratives of Early American History*. multi-volume set. New York: Scribner, 1906-1917.*

Kino, Eusebio Francisco. *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta: A Contemporary Account of the Beginnings of California, Sonora, and Arizona*. Edited by Herbert Eugene Bolton. New York: AMS Press, 1976.*

Limerick, Patricia. *The Legacy of the Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*. New York: Norton, 1987.

Leonard, Eugenie A. *et al. The American Woman in Colonial and Revolutionary Times, 1565-1800; A Syllabus with Bibliography*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962.

Morton, Thomas. *New English Canaan*. Amsterdam: 1637. reprinted by Arno Press, 1972.*

Quinn, Alison M. and David B. Quinn, eds. *The First Colonists: Documents on the Planting of the First English Settlements in North America, 1584-1590*. Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1982.*

Robinson, Alfred. *Life in California before the Conquest*. Reprint 1846. San Francisco: Thomas C. Russell, 1925.

Sources in American History, A Book of Readings. Orlando: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1986. ref.

Thichens, Virginia E. *Putting a Lid on California, an Unpublished Diary of the Portola Expedition by Jose de Canizares*. n.p.: California Historical Society Quarterly 31 1952.*

Wagoner, Jay J. *Early Arizona: Prehistory to Civil War*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975.

Wood, William. *New England's Prospect*. Edited by Alden T. Vaughan. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977.*

Wright, Irene A. trans. *Further English Voyages to Spanish America, 1583-1594: Documents from the Archives of the Indies at Serville illustrating English Voyage to the Carribean, the Spanish Main, Florida and Virginia*. N.p.: Hakluyt Society, 1967.*

Zinn, Howard. *A People's History of the United States*. Harper and Row, 1980.

IMMIGRATION

Bean, Frank and Marta Tienda. *The Hispanic Population of the United States*. New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1987.

Caplan, Nathan. *et al. The Boat People and Achievement in America: A Study of Family Life, Hard Work, and Cultural Values*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989.

Cockcroft, James D. *Outlaws in the Promised Land: Mexican Immigrant Workers and America's Future*. N.p.: n.p., 1986.

Conroy, Hilary. *East Across the Pacific: Historical and Sociological Studies of Japanese Immigration and Assimilation*. Santa Barbara: American Bibliographical Center-Clio Press, 1972.

Crewdson, John. *The Tarnished Door: The New Immigrants and the Transformation of America*. New York: Times Books, 1983.

Dinnerstein, Leonard. *America and the Survivors of the Holocaust*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.

Dinnerstein, Leonard, Roger Nichols and David M. Reimers. *Natives and Strangers: Blacks, Indians and Immigrants in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Ehud, Avriel. *Open the Gates: A Personal Story of "Illegal" Immigration to North America*. New York: Atheneum, 1975.

Fleming, Thomas J. *The Golden Door: the Story of American Immigration*. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1970.

Garcia, Mario. *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880-1920*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.

Greeley, Andrew M. *Why Can't They Be Like Us? Facts and Fallacies About Ethnic Differences and Group Conflicts in America*. New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1969.

Hertzberg, Arthur. *The Jews in America: Four Centuries of an Uneasy Encounter: A History*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989.

Higham, John. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism*. New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1955.
Hoff, Rhoda. *America's Immigrants: Adventures in Eyewitness History*. New York: H.Z. Walck, 1967.*
Ichioka, Yusi. *The Issei: The World of the First Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924*. New York: Free Press, 1988.
Kraut, Alan M. *The Huddled Masses: The Immigrant in American Society, 1880-1921*. Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson, 1982.
Maier, Matt S. and Feliciano Rivera. *The Chicanos: A History of Mexican Americans*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1972.
Melendy, Howard Brett. *Asians in America: Filipinos, Koreans, and East Indians*. Boston: Twayne Publishishers, 1977.
Miller, Stuart C. *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
Morrison, Joan and Charlotte Fox Zabusky. *American Mosaic: the Immigrant Experience in the Words of Those Who Lived It*. New York: Dutton, 1980.*
Namias, June. *First Generation: in the Words of Twentieth-Century American Immigrants*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1978.
Rollins, Joan H. *Hidden Minorities: the Persistence of Ethnicity in American Life*. Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1981.
Weatherford, Doris. *Foreign and Female: Immigrant Women in America, 1840-1930*. New York: Schocken Books, 1986.

Irish and Irish American History

Curtis, L. Perry, Jr. *Apes and Angels, The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971.
Diner, Hasia R. *Erin's Daughter's in America, Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1983.
Gallagher, Thomas. *Paddy's Lament, Ireland 1846-1847, Prelude to Hatred*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982.
Greeley, Andrew M. *That Most Distressful Nation, The Taming of the American Irish*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1972.
Knobel, Dale T. *Paddy and the Republic, Ethnicity and Nationality in Antebellum America*. Middleton: Wesleyan University Press, 1986.
Wall, Richard, ed. *Medieval and Modern Ireland*. Gerrards Cross: C. Smythe, 1988.
Waters, Maureen. *The Comic Irishman*. Albany: The State University of New York Press, 1984.
Wilson, Des. *An End to Silence*. Cork: The Mercier Press Limited, 1985.

THE ANCIENT WORLD

Ancient Civilizations. Filmstrips. Washington D.C.: National Geographic Society, 1978.
McCormack, Jon J. *Ancient Civilizations: Egypt*. Minneapolis: Judy/Instructo, 1971. Multi-media kit.
———. *Ancient Civilizations: Greece*. Minneapolis: Judy/Instructo, 1971. Multi-media kit.
———. *Ancient Civilizations: Rome*. Minneapolis: Judy/Instructo, 1971. Multi-media kit.
Millard, Anne. *Ancient Civilizations*. New York: Warwick Press, 1983.

China

Gregory, K.J. *The Yellow River*. Morristown: Silver Burdett Co., 1980.
Kan, Lai Po. *The Ancient Chinese*. Morristown: Silver Burdett Co., 1981.
Merton, Anna and Shio-yun Kan. *China: The Land and Its People*. Morristown: Silver Burdett Press, 1987.

Egypt

Caselli, Giovanni. *An Egyptian Craftsman*. London: Macdonald and Co., 1986.
Miguel, Pierre. *Ancient Egyptains*. Morristown: Silver Burdett Co., 1982.
Stead, Miriam. *Ancient Egypt*. New York: Gloucester Press, 1985.

Greece

Connolly, Peter. *The Greek Armies*. Morristown: Silver Burdett, Co., 1985.
Cottrell, Leonard. *Crete: The Island of Mys'ery*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965.
Horton, Casey. *Ancient Greeks*. New York: Gloucester Press, 1984.
Edited by Purdy, Susan and Cass R. Sandak. *Ancient Greece*. New York: Franklin Watts, 1982.

Rome

Corbishley, Mike. *The Roman World*. New York: Warwick Press, 1986.
Goor, Nancy and Ron Goor. *Pompeii: Exploring a Roman Ghost Town*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1986.
Robinson, Charles Alexander. *Ancient Rome*. New York: Franklin Watts, 1984.

ARAB HISTORY

Allen, James Paul. *We the People: An Atlas of America's Ethnic Diversity*. New York: Macmillan, 1988.
Imamuddin, S.M. *Political History of Muslim Spain*. Dacca: Najmah, 1961.
Lewis, Bernard. *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1982.
Nasr, Seyyed. *Science and Civilization in Islam*. Cambridge: Harvard Press, 1968.

SCIENCE AND INVENTION

Air and Space History: An Annotated Bibliography. New York: Garland Publishers, 1988. ref.
Augarten, Stan. *Bit by Bit: An Illustrated History of Computers*. New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1984.

Boorstin, Daniel. *The Discoveries: A History of Man's Search to Know His World and Himself.* New York: Random House, 1983.

Bruce, Robert W. *Bell: Alexander Graham Bell and the Conquest of Solitude.* Boston: Little and Brown, 1973.

Daniels, George. *Science in American Society: A Social History.* New York: Knopf, 1971

Holl, Jack M. and Richard G. Hewlett. *Atoms for Peace and War, 1953-1961.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

Hooykaas, R. *Religion and the Rise of Modern Science.* Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1972.

Mankiewicz, Frank and Joel Swerdlow. *Remote Control: Television and the Manipulation of American Life.* New York: Times Books, 1977.

McCullough, David. *The Path Between the Seas: The Creation of the Panama Canal, 1870-1914.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1977.

Rossiter, Margaret. *Science: Its History and Development Among World Cultures.* New York: Facts on File, 1983.

Santillana, Giorgio de. *The Crime of Galileo.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.

Volti, Rudi. *Society and Technological Change.* New York: St. Martins, 1988.

ENTREPRENEURALISM

Bernstein, Michael A. *The Great Depression: Delayed Recovery and Economic Change in America, 1929-1939.* New York: Cambridge Press, 1987.

Bruchey, Stuart. *The Roots of American Economic Growth, 1607-1861.* New York: Harper and Row, 1965.

Chandler, Alfred D. *The Visible Hand: Managerial Revolution in American Business.* Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1977.

Davies, Robert B. *Peacefully Working to Conquer the World: Singer Sewing Machines in Foreign Markets.* New York: Arno Press, 1976.

Healy, David. *Drive to Hegemony: The United States in the Caribbean, 1898-1917.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989.

Heyrman, Christine. *Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts, 1690-1750.* New York: Norton, 1984.

Hounshell, David. *From the American System to Mass Production, 1800-1932: The Development of Manufacturing Technology in the United States.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.

Nelson, Daniel. *Managers and Workers: Origins of the New Factory System in the United States, 1800-1920.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975.

Norris, James D. *Advertising and the Transformation of American Society, 1865-1920.* New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.

Taylor, George R. *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860.* New York: Rinehart, 1951.

Wishart, David J. *The Fur Trade of the American West, 1807-1840.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Banner, Lois. *Women in Modern America: A Brief History.* San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1984.

Bernstein, Irving. *Turbulent Years: A History of the American Worker, 1933-1941.* Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1969.

Borden, Ruth. *Women and Temperance.* N.p.: n.p., 1980

Bremner, Robert. *The Discovery of Poverty.* N.p.: n.p., 1956.

Davis, Allen F. *American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Dubofsky, Melvyn. *We Shall Be All: A History of Industrial Workers of the World.* Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969.

DuBois, Ellen C. *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978.

Fink, Leon. *Workingmen's Democracy: The Knights of Labor and American Democracy.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983.

Fraser, Ronald, *et al. 1968: A Student Generation in Revolt.* London: Chatto and Windus, 1988.

Goodwyn, Lawrence. *Democratic Promise: The Populist Movement in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Jensen, Joan. *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750-1850.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.

Kessler-Harris, Alice. *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Livesay, Harold. *Samuel Gompers and Organized Labor in America.* Boston: Little and Brown, 1978.

McQuaid, Kim. *The Anxious Years: America in Vietnam-Watergate Era.* New York: Basic Books, 1989.

Montgomery, David. *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865-1925.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Patterson, James T. *America's Struggle Against Poverty, 1900-1985.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986.

Rupp, Leila and Verta Taylor. *Survival in the Doldrums: The American Women's Rights Movement, 1945-1960s.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Saloutos, Theodore. *The American Farmer and the New Deal.* Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1982.

Trattner, Walter. *Crusade for the Children.* Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970.

Walters, Ronald G. *American Reformers: 1815-1860.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1978.

———. *The Antislavery Appeal: American Abolitionism After 1830.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1976.

Zaroulis, Nancy and Sullivan, Gerald. *Who Spoke Up? American Protest Against the War in Vietnam, 1963-1975.* Garden City: Doubleday, 1984. ❑

SPECIAL PRE-PUBLICATION OFFER—SAVE $25!

The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia

Editor: **Silvio A. Bedini**
Emeritus, The Smithsonian Institution

Editorial Board:
David Buisseret, The Newberry Library
Helen Nader, Indiana University
Wilcomb E. Washburn, The Smithsonian Institution
Pauline Moffitt Watts, Sarah Lawrence College

Editorial Advisors:
Kathleen Deagan, University of Florida
William E. Lemos, Admiral, Retired, United States Navy
Paolo Emilio Taviani, Senate of the Republic of Italy
William Sturtevant, The Smithsonian Institution
David W. Waters, Honorary Member, Royal Institute of Navigation

If you are considering any book for the 1992 Columbus Quincentenary, you'll want *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia*. In two volumes, *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia* contains more than 350 signed, original articles ranging from 250 to more than 10,000 words, written by nearly 150 contributors from around the world. The work includes cross-references, bibliographies for each article, blind entries, and a comprehensive index. And, *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia* is fully illustrated, with hundreds of maps, drawings, and photographs. Much more than an account of the man and his voyages, this is a complete A-to-Z look at the world during this era.

The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia is written in a clear, concise style that is accessible to high school students and general readers.

Arranged alphabetically, the articles appear in two volumes and generally fall into six categories:

Columbus's life: from the four voyages to his writings, the Book of Privileges, his coat of arms and more. Additional biographies cover family, friends, crew members.

Columbus's world: the social, economic, political, and cultural institutions of Europe; the expulsion of Muslims and Jews from Spain; the reconquest of Granada; and biographies of Isabel and Fernando, Henry VII and Henry VIII, Pope Alexander VI, Pope Innocent VIII and dozens more.

Pre-Columbian exploration and discovery: the Vinland Map; the Icelandic Sagas; imaginary geography; medieval travel literature; the Northwest Passage; plus biographies of Marco Polo, Henry the Navigator, Leif Ericsson, and others.

The science and technology of exploration and discovery: navigation; astronomy and astrology; cartography; wind and weather; and biographies of Ptolemy, Juan de la Cosa, Paolo del Pozz Toscanelli, and others, including Martin Waldseemuller, the man who misnamed America.

The New World: The people (Aztecs, Mayas, Incas, Caribs, Tainos); archaeology; natural history; settlements; exploitation of Indians; and places such as Cuzco, Tenochtitlan, Cuba, etc.

Post-Columbian exploration and discovery: four major articles cover the colonization of America by Spain, Portugal, France and England; the naming of America; and dozens of biographies from Balboa, the Cabots, Cortes, Magellan to Verazzano and Vespucci.

SIMON & SCHUSTER
A Paramount Communications Company

ORDER NOW AND SAVE $25!

Courtesy of The Library of Congress

***The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia* is broad in scope, and covers a wide range of disciplines, including:**

► **history**—from pre-Columbian civilizations to the colonization of America

► **geography**—a thorough treatment of cartography, plus individual articles on specific cities, countries and regions

► **political science**—*The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia* covers the political institutions of Europe during the Age of Discovery, plus biographies of famous kings, queens, popes, and world leaders

► **economics**—trade and trade routes, the search for gold and spices, plus a look at the economic climate of the period

► **archaeology and anthropology**—articles examine archaeology of the New World (land and underwater), plus a complete overview of the pre-Columbian cultures and tribes

► **religion**—from the Inquisition to missionary movements in the New World, the *Encyclopedia* has numerous entries on religion

► **science**—in addition to astronomy and astrology, navigation and weather, there are articles on agriculture, medicine and health, solar phenomena and more.

► **the arts**—a wide range of topics, from the portrayal of Columbus in art, film and literature, to commemorative statues and monuments, numismatics and philately

two volumes • c. 900 pages • 8½ x 11
c. 350 articles • c. 150 contributors • c. 400 illustrations
ISBN: 0-13-142662-1 • $175.00 the set
Publication date: **Columbus Day, 1991 (October 12)**

Special pre-publication price: $150
—order now and save $25!

☐ Please send me a complete prospectus for *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia*, including list of topics and sample articles.

☐ I'm sold! Please send me _____ sets at $150 per set. (Schools, please attach purchase order.)

☐ Please contact our school librarian at the address at right.

Mail to:
S I M O N & S C H U S T E R
Academic Reference Division
15 Columbus Circle, New York, NY 10023
A Paramount Communications Company

Name _____

School _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Telephone _____

Questions? Call us at **(212) 373-7350.**

OAH

History Headlines

NEH Summer Stipends and Travel Grants

The NEH is now accepting applications for 1992 summer stipends through its Division of Fellowships and Seminars. The NEH summer stipends support two months of full-time study and research for individuals completing projects during the tenure of an award or as a part of a long-range academic endeavor. Application deadline is October 1, 1991 for the $4,000 award given in 1992.

Grants for travel to research collections of libraries, archives, museums, or other repositories, are available from the NEH to help defray such research expenses as transportation, subsistence, lodging, photoduplication and other costs. The deadline for the $750 stipend for travel after June 1, 1992 is January 15, 1992.

Under the general eligibility rubric, applicants need not have advanced degrees, but neither candidates for degrees nor persons seeking support for work toward a degree are eligible to apply to the programs of Travel to Collections, Summer Stipends, and NEH Fellowships.

For more information on these and other opportunities, contact the National Endowment for the Humanities, Division of Fellowships and Seminars, Room 316, 1100 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20506. ❑

Encyclopedia for the Quincentennial

As you are gathering resources on the Columbus Quincentenary, do not forget to include *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia*. This encyclopedia is written in a clear, concise style and contains more than 350 signed, original articles. Fully illustrated with hundreds of maps, drawings and photographs, *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia* is a monumental work well worth exploring. For further information contact Simon & Schuster, P.O. Box 1230, Westwood, NJ 17675-1230, or call (212) 373-7350. ❑

Dissertation Catalog Free From UMI

University Microfilms International, (UMI), recently announced the publication of *History*, a catalog of selected doctoral dissertations. The catalog contains citations of 1,780 selected doctoral dissertations and master theses published between 1982 and 1990. It is available free to scholars and libraries. Specific interest areas include: anthropology, black history, economics, history of science, literature, modern history, political science, religion, sociology, and women's studies. *History* also has listings by geographic location including Africa, Canada, Europe, Latin America, and the U.S.

UMI's Dissertation Services allow access to over one million dissertations and masters theses with printed, on-line, and CD-ROM indexes. UMI Dissertation catalogs in many subject areas are available free from UMI, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. For further information call toll-free 1-800-521-0600, ext. 736. ❑

Tenement Museum Opens New Exhibition

"Meddling With Peddling: The Push-cart Wars" is the Lower East Side Tenement Museum's new exhibition, running through January 5, 1992. Looking at both the historical and contemporary aspects of street peddling and merchants on the Lower East Side of New York, the exhibition features photographs, illustrations, cartoons, letters, and artifacts.

The museum is the nation's first living history museum devoted to the urban immigrant experience. Located at 97 Orchard Street in New York City, the hours are Tuesday through Friday, 11:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.; Sundays, 10:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. Admission is free. For more information call 212-431-0233. ❑

Resources on the Bill of Rights

The ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education has recently published *Resources for Teachers on the Bill of Rights* (ISBN 0-941339-12-2), coauthored by John J. Patrick and Robert S. Leming. The 214-page reference includes background papers, original documents, lesson plans, annotated bibliographies, and directories of key organizations and persons. Single copies are $15 (plus $2 shipping and handling) and may be ordered directly from ERIC, 2805 East Tenth Street, Bloomington, Indiana, 47408-2698, telephone (812) 855-3838. ❑

Geography in U.S. History

The Agency for Instructional Technology has released *Geography in U.S. History*, a new video and print series that takes a unique approach to strengthening social studies skills for secondary school students by integrating geographical themes into the study of United States history.

Ten major events in U.S. history serve as the central focus of each program. Geographic themes surrounding the event are then developed to help students understand the fundamental relationships between time and space. Cognitive skills are reinforced throughout each program, encouraging students to use information, ask questions, and formulate generalizations.

For more information contact AIT, Box A, Bloomington, Indiana, 47402-0120, (800) 457-4509, or (812) 339-2203. ❑

American History Review Bank

Technical Educational Consultants have released *American History Review Bank*, a computer software study tool that contains two titles: *Exploration to Reconstruction* and *Post-Civil War America to the Present*. This Apple II and IBM software study tool for high school students contains more than 750 multiple choice questions organized by topic and level of difficulty. Menu selections allow the student to bring up lessons, glossaries of historical terms, questions and review sessions. For more information, contact Technical Educational Consultants, 76 North Broadway, Suite 4009, Hicksville, New York, 11810 (516) 681-1773. ❑

Correction

David E. Vocke, author of "An Artifact from the 19th Century Schoolhouse: The McGuffey Reader" [*Magazine of History* 5 (Winter 1991): 5], is Assistant Professor in the Department of Education at Towson State University. ❑

BICENTENNIAL OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS SPEAKERS BUREAU

The OAH *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Bicentennial of the Bill of Rights announces the formation of a Bicentennial Speakers Bureau. Through the Bureau, twenty-five experts on the history of American rights and liberties are available to address high school teachers and community groups on a variety of topics related to the adoption and development of the Bill of Rights. As a group, these historians offer more than seventy lectures on a broad range of subjects. The names of speakers and their topics are given below.

The list of topics is meant to be suggestive rather than exhaustive. Within general areas of expertise, speakers will be pleased to tailor lectures to the needs of audiences or blend lecture materials with group discussion. The OAH Speakers Bureau will work closely with interested individuals or groups to secure the best scholar for the job, most especially when favored topics do not appear on the list.

The Speakers Bureau has been designed specifically to address the needs of non-academic audiences. While members of the Bureau will respond gladly to requests for speakers from universities and colleges, they look forward most especially to conversations with high school students, K-12 teachers, television audiences, or community groups of any description. Over the past few years, each of the Bureau's "circuit riders" has been involved continually in public commemorations of various bicentennials, ranging from the events of 1776 through the framing and ratification of the Northwest Ordinance, state constitutions, and the federal constitution. As a result, these historians--perhaps more than most--understand the needs and dynamics of non-university audiences; they take special delight in working with civic or religious groups, librarians, the media, students not enrolled in traditional degree programs, and teachers in secondary and elementary schools.

The OAH is seeking outside funding in order to make these presentations available at a very modest cost. Speakers will expect to be reimbursed for travel expenses; stipends will be both reasonable and negotiable. Groups or individuals with limited resources should not assume that the Speakers Bureau is beyond their means. Those interested in obtaining the services of the Bicentennial Speakers Bureau should call Sharon Caughill at the OAH office: (812) 855-7345.

* * *

Gordon Morris Bakken, *California State University-Fullerton*
- The Federal Bill of Rights
- Constitutional Development in the West

Kenneth Bowling, *First Federal Congress Project, George Washington University*
- The First Congress, James Madison, and the Adoption of the Bill of Rights
- Amendments to the Constitution Proposed by the States
- The Importance of the Ninth Amendment in 1788-1789
- Neither Separate nor Equal: Legislative Supremacy and the Rejection of Separation of Powers by the Founding Fathers
- Overshadowed by a New Politics: Ratification of the Bill of Rights by the States

Steven Boyd, *University of Texas-San Antonio*
- The Bill of Rights: The Intentions of the Framers
- The Second Bill of Rights
- Barron v. Baltimore

Lawrence D. Cress, *University of Tulsa*
- Second Amendment: The Right to Bear Arms
- The Military and the Bill of Rights

Richard O. Curry, *University of Connecticut*
- Abolitionism and the First Amendment
- Civil War and Reconstruction
- Civil Liberties and the Cold War
- The Reagan Administration's Assault on the Bill of Rights

Paul Finkelman, *Brooklyn Law School*
- The Origin of the Bill of Rights
- James Madison and the Writing of the Bill of Rights: A Reluctant Paternity
- Separation of Church and State
- Flag Burning, Flag Salutes, and the Bill of Rights
- The Right to Privacy
- The Intentions of the Framers and the Bill of Rights
- To Keep and Bear Arms—Its Meaning in 1791 and Today
- The Bill of Rights and the War on Drugs
- Religion and the Constitution

Robert Glennon, *University of Arizona*
- Constitutional Law and History
- Civil Rights and Liberties
- Modern American Legal History

Adolph Grundman, *Metropolitan State College*
- The Philosophy of Freedom of Speech

➢

Free Speech in Times of Crisis
The Theory and Origin of the Bill of Rights

Kermit Hall, *University of Florida*
The Judiciary and the Bill of Rights
The Bill of Rights
Libel, Defamation and the First Amendment

James A. Henretta, *University of Maryland-College Park*
Political Rights: the State Constitutional Tradition
Property as a Constitutional Right: State Law and Courts, 1800-1920
The Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Civil Liberties

Harold M. Hyman, *Rice University*
First Amendment and Pre-Civil War Slavery
Appomattox: The First Amendment Made Meaningful
The 5th Amendment and the Practices of a Free Society 1857-1872
The Bill of Rights and the Civil War and Reconstruction
The 14th Amendment and the Bill of Rights: or, Federalism Improved
Liberals, Conservatives, and the Bill of Rights
Imprudent Jurisprudents and the Bill of Rights
America's Wars and the Bill of Rights
The Bill of Rights as a Bill of Wrongs

John W. Johnson, *University of Northern Iowa*
The Incorporation/Absorption Issue
The Extension of the Bill of Rights by the 14th Amendment
1st Amendment Issues, especially Political/Symbolic/Artistic Speech on College Campuses and Separation of Church and State
The Bill of Rights and Nuclear Power

Stanley N. Katz, *Princeton University*
Constitutional Equality, Bills of Rights in the State and Nation

Paul L. Murphy, *University of Minnesota*
Development of Free Speech as a Social Instrument
The First Amendment in the 1960s
Minority Rights and the Carolene Footnote
The Bill of Rights and the States

John M. Murrin, *Princeton University*
Fundamental Values, The Founding Fathers, and the Constitution

Phillip S. Paludan, *University of Kansas*
Abraham Lincoln and the Bill of Rights

William D. Pederson, *Louisiana State University in Shreveport*
Bill of Rights: The Bad and Good Guys in the World Today
Edward Douglass White: Louisiana's Contribution to the U. S. Supreme Court
American Presidents Who Abused Civil Liberties: Five Case Studies
Patterns in Why Some People Support Civil Liberties More than Others

Jack Rakove, *Stanford University*
James Madison and the Bill of Rights
What Did the Constitution Originally Mean?

Daniel T. Rodgers, *Princeton University*
Rights Consciousness in American History

Robert A. Rutland, *University of Tulsa*
Who Wrote the Bill of Rights?
George Mason, James Madison, and the Bill of Rights
Was James Madison the Father of the Constitution?

Harry Scheiber, *University of California-Berkeley*
Property, Liberty, and the Constitution
Takings, Regulation and Economic Rights
Patterns of Repression and Liberty: Civil Liberties in the American Experience
When the Military Governs: Martial Law and the Constitution
Structures that Support Rights: Federalism and Separation of Powers

Jeffery A. Smith, *University of Iowa*
Interpreting the Press Clause
The Origins of the Press Clause

Melvin Urofsky, *Virginia Commonwealth University*
The Framers' Establishment Clause: The Myth of Original Intent
The Serpentine Wall: Church and State in America
The Religion Clauses
Equal Protection: Gender and Affirmative Action

Sandra F. VanBurkleo, *Wayne State University*
The Antifederalists and the Bill of Rights
The Concept of Liberty in the 18th and 19th Centuries
Federalists vs. Antifederalists on Republican Rights and Liberties
Female Rights Consciousness in American History

Samuel Walker, *University of Nebraska at Omaha*
The ACLU and the Bill of Rights: In Search of "Mainstream" American Values
The Police and the Bill of Rights: The Impact of the Supreme Court on American Policing

★ ★ ★

A Quarterly Review of Essays by Students of History

THE
CONCORD REVIEW

Only that day dawns to which we are awake.
Henry David Thoreau, Walden

Saudi Arabia — Danik Ibrahim Elwan
Washington International School, Washington, D.C.
Korean War — Jolyon A. Silversmith
Richard Montgomery High School, Rockville, Maryland
Irish in America 1845–1855 — Shana L. Drake
Greens Farms Academy, Greens Farms, Connecticut
Bahais of Iran — Kamran Kheiram
Burnaby South Secondary School, Burnaby, British Columbia
Machine Politics — Sean K. Desmond
Jesuit College Preparatory School, Dallas, Texas
Peru 1968–1975 — Rachel Wilson
Lincoln College Preparatory Academy, Kansas City, Missouri
Ferris Wheel — Britta C. Waller
Theodore Roosevelt High School, Kent, Ohio
NATO after the Cold War — Suzanne O'Brien
Progree School, Hamilton, Massachusetts
Woodrow Wilson — Uthara Srinivasan
Homewood-Flossmoor Community High School, Flossmoor, Illinois
Australia in Vietnam — Edward Pocock
International School of Paris
Whitlam Government — Heidi Jane Niklas
Ashwood Secondary College, Ashwood, Victoria

A Quarterly Review of Essays by Students of History

Volume Three, Number Three — $7.50 — Spring 1991

"***The Concord Review*** assumes and encourages the view that writing is a way of communicating what students have learned and gotten excited about as they've studied history...Part of what makes ***The Concord Review*** impressive is that it honors—and encourages—this kind of achievement in pre-college students...The achievement of ***The Concord Review***'s authors offers us a different model of learning. Maybe it's time for us to take it seriously."

Albert Shanker
President, American Federation of Teachers

"***The Concord Review*** provides a splendid forum for the best student work in history. It provides the opportunity to recognize student achievement in history and to reward those who have taken the time to reflect on the meaning of the past. It deserves the support of everyone in the country who cares about improving the study of history in the schools."

Diane Ravitch
Teachers College, Columbia University
Chairman, Educational Excellence Network
Co-Author, *What Do Our 17-Year-Olds Know?*

FINE WORK INSPIRES other students to work harder. We publish eleven History essays by students every quarter. Our authors are now at Berkeley, Brown, Cal Tech, Columbia, Dartmouth, Duke, Harvard, McGill, Melbourne, Oxford, Princeton, Stanford, Wesleyan, Williams, and Yale. Teachers in 44 states and Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, England, France, Greece, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Malaysia, Paraguay, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland and Turkey are using these essays as examples of good historical writing.

ESSAYS of around 4,000 words plus endnotes, on any historical topic, should be mailed, with information on the author, teacher, course, and school, to: Will Fitzhugh, Editor, **The Concord Review**, Post Office Box 661, **Concord, Mass. 01742. U.S.A.** (508) 443–0022.

SUBSCRIPTIONS are $25 a year, $30 foreign, $45 foreign air mail (orders for 26 or more receive a 20% discount), and should be sent prepaid to: **The Concord Review Business Office**, Post Office Box 476, **Canton, Mass. 02021. U.S.A.** (617) 828–8450. We are listed with the major subscription services.

Name _____ School: _____

Address _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

Number of Subscriptions _____ Amount Enclosed: $_____ ($25 per subscription)

Films & Video from Direct Cinema Limited

Adam Clayton Powell

Academy Award Nomination
1989 Best Documentary Feature
Best of Festival 1990
Nat'l Educational Film Festival

This is a dramatic portrait of the charismatic Harlem minister and Congressman who became one of the most powerful, controversial politicians of his time. The film provides a fascinating glimpse of America as it moved into the Civil Rights era, and of a key leader in the struggle.

Directed by Richard Kilberg
Produced by Richard Kilberg & Yvonne Smith
53 minutes Color 1989
16mm Sale $895/Rental $100
1/2" Video Sale $250 jscag
30-minute classroom version $150

The Congress

Silver Apple Award 1989
National Educational Film Festival

Using historical photographs and newsreels, evocative live footage and interviews, this elegant, thoughtful and often touching portrait chronicles the personalities, events and issues that have animated the first 200 years of Congress. Available in three 30-minute segments representing three chronological subject areas.

Florentine Films
A film by Ken Burns
90 minutes Color 1988
16mm Sale $1495/Rental $150
1/2" Video Sale $295 jscag
(Available on 1 or 3 cassettes)

Empire of Reason

The Ratification of the U.S. Constitution

Emmy Award

Featuring Walter Cronkite, Robert MacNeil and Phil Donahue, among others, this ambitious educational film recreates the U.S. Constitutional ratification debates as if they were being covered by today's TV news. **Empire of Reason** uses the unmistakable power of television to make a critical moment in American history accessible, understandable and entertaining.

Produced and Directed by
Ellen Hovde and Muffie Meyer
Written by Ronald Blumer
Produced for the N.Y.Bar Foundation
56 minutes Color Video Only 1988
1/2" Video Sale $250 jscag
(Available in two 30-minute parts)

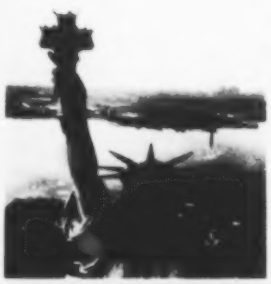
Legacy of the Hollywood Blacklist

Emmy Award Nomination
ALA Selected Films for Young Adults 1988

This moving and informative film examines the long-term effects of one of America's most infamous events—the investigation of alleged Communist activities in Hollywood by the House Un-American Activities Committee. The film focuses on five women, wives of successful film figures who were blacklisted in the 1940s and 1950s. Narrated by Burt Lancaster.

Produced and Directed by
Judy Chaikin
60 minutes Color 1987
16mm Sale $895/Rental $100
1/2" Video Sale $250 jscag

The Statue of Liberty



Academy Award Nomination
1985 Best Documentary Feature

This lyrical and provocative film explores the history and meaning of the Statue of Liberty on the occasion of its renovation. The story of the statue's creation in France, and its subsequent installation in America, is illustrated with an extensive collection of rare archival materials, punctuated by readings from diaries, letters and newspaper accounts.

Florentine Films
A film by Ken Burns
58 minutes Color 1985
16mm Sale $895/Rental $85
1/2" Video Sale $250 ijscag
37-minute classroom version
16mm $595/$55 1/2" Video $175

Super Chief

The Life and Legacy of Earl Warren

Academy Award Nomination
1989 Best Documentary Feature

Super Chief is a portrait of the Supreme Court Chief Justice whose activist policies unleashed a torrent of change on sleepy 1950s America. The film also tells the stories of the people whose lives were profoundly affected by the Warren Court's decisions, exploring the dynamic relationship between our most basic principles and our system of law.

A film by Bill Jersey
and Judith Leonard
88 minutes Color 1990
16mm Sale $1495/Rental $150
1/2" Video Sale $295 jscag
30-minute classroom version $175

For information contact:

Direct Cinema Limited
Post Office Box 10003
Santa Monica, CA 90410
Phone (800) 525-0000
Telefax (213) 396-3233

direct cinema limited

BEST COPY AVAILABLE